# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-142
Monday
25 July 1988

# Daily Report
## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-88-142* *25 July 1988*

CONTENTS


**ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT**

TASS 'Analysis' of Warsaw Pact Proposal ..... 1
FRG's Bahr Hails Latest Warsaw Pact Proposals *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Jul]* ..... 1
Nuclear, Space Weapons Talks Continue With U.S. ..... 2
Soviet Inspectors' Arrival in UK Reported *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jul]* ..... 3
Inspectors Complete Tour ..... 3
U.S. Inspectors See SS-20 Missile Destroyed ..... 3
Depart for West Germany ..... 4
U.S. Inspectors Complete Mission in GDR ..... 4
Retired U.S. Militarymen Visit Leningrad School ..... 4
TASS Correction to Karpov on Dismantling Radar ..... 4

**WORLDWIDE ISSUES**

Iranian, Iraqi Ministers To Meet UN Leader ..... 5
Iranian UN Envoy Cited ..... 5
Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable' *[Pasko, Pyadyshev, Chukseyev]* ..... 5

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**United States & Canada**

Akhromeyev Interviewed on Results of U.S. Visit *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jul]* ..... 10
Carlucci's Early Aug Visit to USSR Previewed ..... 12
TASS Cites Carlucci Interview on Gulf Presence ..... 12
Reagan Rebuts Democrat 'Accusations' on Radio ..... 12
Further on Dukakis Presidential Campaign ..... 13
Stances, Chances Assessed *[PRAVDA 22 Jul]* ..... 13
Addresses Democrats, Leads Bush *[PRAVDA 23 Jul]* ..... 15
U.S. Students 'Warmly Welcomed' in Tbilisi ..... 15
U.S. Senators Depart Moscow After Visit ..... 16

**China**

PRC Role in Cambodian Settlement Viewed ..... 16
Reportage on Song Rufen, NPC Delegation Visit ..... 17
Reform, Legislation Observed ..... 17
Meet With Legislative Commission ..... 17
Visit to Kiev ..... 17
Chita Oblast, Inner Mongolia Begin Border Trade ..... 17
Scientific Cooperation Program Adopted ..... 18

**Northeast Asia**

Further Reportage on Visit by Japan's Nakasone ..... 18
Nakasone, Gorbachev Confer *[Tokyo KYODO]* ..... 18
PRAVDA Reports on Talks *[23 Jul]* ..... 19
Further on Talks ..... 21
Japanese Offical Cited *[Tokyo KYODO]* ..... 22
Nakasone Interviewed ..... 22
Island Dispute Addressed *[Tokyo KYODO]* ..... 23
Authorities Decline Comment on ROK Talks *[Tokyo KYODO]* ..... 23

### Southeast Asia & Pacific

Meeting on Cambodia Begins in Indonesia ..... 24
'Observer' Views Talks ..... 24
Hun Sen Says Situation 'Ripe' for Settlement ..... 25

### Near East & South Asia

Ziaul Haq Says Afghan Troop Withdrawal Stopped *[Beijing XINHUA]* ..... 25
Akhromeyev Denies Charge ..... 25
Foreign Ministry Statement ..... 26
Jalalabad, Kabul Rocket Attacks Noted 23 Jul ..... 26
Further Attack on Kabul ..... 26
Bovin Discusses 'Uncertain' Afghan Situation ..... 26
Pakistan Continuing Aid, 'Stealing' Uranium Ore ..... 27
Yakunin Appointed Ambassador to Pakistan ..... 27
Vorontsov, Iranian Leaders Meet 20-22 Jul ..... 27
Offers To Host Peace Talks *[Tokyo KYODO]* ..... 28
Iraqi Announcement of Troop Withdrawal Cited ..... 28
Support for Sudanese Rebels Reportedly Denied *[Khartoum SUNA]* ..... 28

### East Europe

Ambassador to Hungary Holds News Conference *[Budapest MTI]* ..... 29
PZPR Leadership Hails Gorbachev Visit Results *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jul]* ..... 29
Polish Envoy Makes National Day Address ..... 30
Briefs ..... 31
Baltic Experiment With GDR ..... 31

### Latin America & Caribbean

Panamanian Foreign Minister Scores U.S. Policy ..... 31
Panamanian 'Indignation' Over U.S. Rocket Mishap ..... 31
Nicaraguan President Views Guatamala Accords ..... 32
Contra Leadership Changes Bode Ill for Talks *[Cherepanov in IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* ..... 32
Commentary Views Expulsion of Nicaraguan Envoy *[Bukharov]* ..... 33

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### Political & Social

Further on Unrest in Armenia, Azerbaijan Areas ..... 34
NKAO Official Interviewed *[Yerevan ARMENPRES]* ..... 34
Baku Official on NKAO Decision *[Baku]* ..... 36
Editor on NKAO Problems *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 22 Jul]* ..... 37
Agencies To Enforce Laws ..... 37
Tension in Stepanakert ..... 38
Stepanakert Strike Discussed *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Jul]* ..... 38
Agencies To Restore 'Order' *[TRUD 23 Jul]* ..... 38
NKAO Strikes Condemned ..... 39
Yerevan 'Remains Tense' ..... 39
Troops' Role Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 23 Jul]* ..... 40
Yerevan 'Calming Down' *[TRUD 23 Jul]* ..... 41
Workers Discuss Resolution *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Jul]* ..... 42
Academician Backs Presidium Stance *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jul]* ..... 42
Soldiers Interviewed in Yerevan ..... 43
Baku, Stepanakert, Yerevan Situations *[PRAVDA 24 Jul]* ..... 44
Azerbaijan Leader Urges Unity ..... 45
Banned NKAO Group Still Active *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Jul]* ..... 46
Stepanakert Strike Discussed ..... 48
Armenians Supporting Decision ..... 49

Enterprises Making Up Losses ..... 49
Armenian Party Discusses NKAO *[PRAVDA 25 Jul]* ..... 49
More on Ayrikyan Expulsion *[IZVESTIYA 24 Jul]* ..... 51
Workers 'Tired Out' by Strike ..... 52
Stepanakert Strike End Urged ..... 53
Media Creating 'Extra Tension' ..... 53
Yerevan Developments Assessed ..... 54
Baku Oil Workers Comment ..... 55
Vezirov Meets NKAO Leaders ..... 55
Work Resumes in Stepanakert ..... 56
New Head of Armenian Broadcasting Appointed *[Yerevan]* ..... 56
Paper Reports 21 Jul CPSU Politburo Meeting *[PRAVDA 23 Jul]* ..... 56
Vorotnikov Addresses RSFSR Council of Ministers ..... 58
News Briefing Held on 19th CPSU Conference *[MOSCOW NEWS No 29]* ..... 58
Bureaucracy Blocks Expansion of Intourist Office *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jul]* ..... 59
TV Movie on Chernobyl Incident Previewed *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 21 Jul]* ..... 59
NEDELYA Ponders Behavior of Purge Victims *[Zatonskiy in NEDELYA No 28]* ..... 60

**Economic**

State Juggling Too Many Construction Projects ..... 64
Goskomstat Official on Economic Trends ..... 64
Application of State Order System Viewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 20 Jul]* ..... 65
Further on Discussion *[TRUD 21 Jul]* ..... 67

**Agricultural**

Recurring Problems in Agriculture Viewed ..... 70
Fuel Shortages Jeopardize Ukraine Harvests *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jul]* ..... 71
State Committee Data Released on Food Industry ..... 72
Agricultural Developments for 21-23 Jul ..... 72

**Scientific**

Sagdeyev Says Sakharov Awards Must Be Returned *[MOSCOW NEWS No 29]* ..... 73
Space Cooperation Talks Held With Austria ..... 74
'Mir' Cosmonauts on New Cargo Received ..... 74
Take Rest Day ..... 75

## TASS 'Analysis' of Warsaw Pact Proposal

*LD2507120888 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 25 Jul 88*

["Warsaw Treaty Proposals on Arms and Troops Cuts—Analysis"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Scaling down armed forces and conventional armaments and eliminating imbalances in these fields are of key importance to reducing the risk of outbreak of war and creating a more stable situation in Europe.

In the West, however, they often demand that the Warsaw Treaty members cut back their weapons and troops unilaterally.

The Soviet Union believes that there can be no question of removing imbalances in Europe unilaterally as this would violate the principle of justice and upset the rough military parity existing in the continent between the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

The view is shared by other European socialist countries and this has been graphically reflected in the documents adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty nations at its session in the Polish capital.

Meeting earlier in Budapest in 1986, the committee put forward a program for reducing armed forces and armaments in the continent, which takes into account the structure of the armed forces on either side.

This program was further elaborated by the committee at its meeting in Berlin in 1987.

Fundamentally new proposals have been made by the Political Consultative Committee in the Polish capital.

The Warsaw Treaty countries believe, for example, that the ultimate objective of the first phase of the talks should be to achieve roughly equal, balanced collective levels as regards troops strength and the amount of conventional arms for the states grouped in the two military-political alliances.

The balanced levels should be lower than existing now on either side.

The second phase is to see the armed forces of each side slashed by about 25 percent (by some 500,000 men) along with their organic arms.

The aim of the third phase should be to lend the armed forces of both sides a purely defensive nature through further cuts.

Much significance is, of course, attached to establishing an effective verification system to monitor compliance with the accords.

The realization of the latest initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries could, without doubt, provide the foundation on which the nations of the continent could begin building a "common European home".

## FRG's Bahr Hails Latest Warsaw Pact Proposals

*PM2207111588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Interview with FRG's Egon Bahr in Bonn by NVOVSTI correspondent V. Sokolov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "A Europe of Trust. Interview With the Well-Known West German Figure Egon Bahr"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Bonn—[Sokolov] Recently the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which you represent, and the SED (GDR), which was represented by Comrade Axen, put forward a proposal to create a European zone of trust. What can you say about the prehistory of this issue?

[Bahr] We opened our talks last year with the single purpose of transforming the nuclear-free corridor proposed a long time back by Olof Palme into a region, rather than just a corridor from which heavy conventional armor would also be removed. The talks revealed that work on this kind of project is a very complex matter. It must, without fail, be brought in line with the overall concept of stability in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals which has been proposed by the Warsaw Pact countries. We have decided to continue our talks on this subject in the fall, and this will be done. At the same time, we have come to the conclusion that, meanwhile, the question of confidence-building measures—that is, all that has been achieved in Stockholm—could, in the interests of security, be developed further. This provided the impetus for us to put forward, jointly with the SED, the proposal to create a zone of trust in Europe.

This will no longer be just a corridor. The zone of trust goes beyond the framework of a corridor and would apply to the whole of Europe. Confidence-building measures are possible only if applied to the whole of Europe. This is in keeping with Stockholm and with our additional proposals. The new elements of our proposals consist in the fact that the confidence-building measures make provision for the establishment, without fail, of a fundamentally new mechanism for the exchange of information on all military questions between East and West. This permanently operating mechanism will make it possible for the first time for European governments to try to ensure that an incorrect interpretation of information or false information cannot serve as a cause of a crisis. And it makes it possible to swifly eliminate such a crisis should it, nonetheless, arise. Every government will be constantly aware of what is happening in Europe regarding military potentials and their deployment, right up to and including the creation of a satellite information system.

[Sokolov] What will the implementation of this idea depend on?

[Bahr] The main problem is whether the FRG Federal Government will accept this initiative. I have briefed the govenment on our proposals, and now that the coalition has learned about the Political Consultative Committee proposals put forward in Warsaw, it is aware that these are fundamental ideas also as far as the Warsaw Pact states are concerned.

[Sokolov] You have just mentioned the community of your ideas and the latest initiatives of the Warsaw Pact countries. How do you assess what has been proposed in Warsaw in this context?

[Bahr] It is necessary to recall that Mikhail Gorbachev set this process in motion on 15 January 1986 when he put forward the initiative to create a nuclear-free world. This made some people smile, but only until both leaders declared it the main aim of their policies in Geneva. We welcomed these proposals in January 1986, although we did note the absence of a solution to the question of conventional arms. For Europe this question is just as important as nuclear arms reduction. The Soviet Union acknowledged our criticism and as early as April 1986 started talking about this question. In May-June, the well-known Budapest agreement was concluded which, as a practical aim of ensuring stability in Europe, proposed that conventional arms also be reduced.

NATO reacted to this with the following phrase: We will consider these proposals. A special group was set up which has been considering these proposals for 2 years now. Each member of this group, that is to say, each state has been assigned specific tasks. At first, it was promised that a decision would be adopted by December, but it did not materialize either in December or in spring 1987, or during the fall session of NATO, and it is still outstanding now in the summer of 1988.

It must be stated bluntly that NATO has been dragging out the solution of this question for 2 years and has failed to give a political answer to the Warsaw Pact countries' proposals. I believe that it is no exaggeration to say that the West was not ready for a reduction of conventional arms, that in general, it did not even take the possibility of such reductions into consideration despite the fact, as you know, that the Warsaw Pact countries had submitted similar proposals earlier.

The principled stance of the Warsaw Pact countries remains unaltered. However, the new option contains substantial new elements and great potential. What has been proposed in Warsaw could be described as a finished draft which makes it possible to sit down at the negotiating table right now, without delay. The Warsaw Pact countries have split their draft into three stages and taken account of all the NATO's wishes. They have declared their readiness to eliminate the existing superiority in conventional arms during the first stage. That means that the elimination will, of course, be asymmetrical. This asymmetrical elimination of superiority applies also to the Western side, as the aim is to achieve a mutual equilibrium.

The provision on mutual exchanges of information on military potentials is of great importance because it constitutes a specific topic for negotiations. It is well known that the Warsaw Pact countries have proposed that data be exchanged even prior to the definition of the Vienna talks mandate. It is also characteristic that the Warsaw Pact countries' proposals envisage the implementation of confidence-building measures, which is precisely what our party and the SED have proposed. The Warsaw Pact countries' proposal to eliminate asymmetries during the first stage does not merely provide for moving troops and hardware from one place to another. It is envisaged demobilizing the forces, and at the same time, dismantling the hardware under international verification [kontrol]. This is a new and very interesting proposal. There is nothing to consider and weigh up here; after all, what is being proposed is a step toward actual and real disarmament.

The documents which we have adopted and signed together with the SED mention that our proposals coincide with the Warsaw Pact countries' proposals. They make provision for monitoring [kontrol] all strategic points: railroads, airfields, and so forth. I can see no point or wish expressed earlier by the West which has not been met by the Warsaw Pact countries.

## Nuclear, Space Weapons Talks Continue With U.S.

*LD2207202788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1855 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Geneva, 22 Jul (TASS)—Work aimed at preparing jointly a draft of the treaty on the 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons in conditions of strict compliance with the ABM Treaty was continued at the 10th round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons held here last week.

In the interest of making speedy progress at the talks, the USSR delegation submitted a number of new proposals to be introduced into the draft treaty—proposals which reflect the mutual understanding that was attained as a result of the summit meeting in Moscow on the issue of limiting air-based long-range cruise missiles and also heavy bombers. Thanks to the actions initiated by the Soviet side, progress has been made in agreeing provisions on the functions of of the body being set up to assist the implementation of the aims and provisions of the future treaty, of the system in which it is to be considered in the future, of the section concerning definitions, of the protocol on inspections, and some other areas. Certain constructive steps on the questions concerning strategic offensive weapons were also made by the U.S. delegation at the talks.

Nevertheless, some problems of key importance crucial for the fate of the future treaty remain unresolved at the talks. The question of the limitation of sea-based long-range cruise missiles being deployed is among them. This new and dangerous type of strategic offensive weapon must be reliably limited to ensure the effectiveness of the treaty and rule out the possibility of it being evaded. The USSR delegation confirmed the detailed Soviet proposals which allow this matter to be resolved on a mutually acceptable basis under strict control. It must be stated, however, that up to now the U.S. side has been evading a businesslike discussion of sea-based long-range cruise missiles or advancing any positive ideas in this sphere. Because of this, the principle accord on the limitation of sea-based long-range cruise missiles documented on the Soviet-U.S. statement at the summit level of 10 December 1987 remains unfulfilled.

### Soviet Inspectors' Arrival in UK Reported

*PM2207120388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Report by unnamed own correspondent: "Aeroflot Aircraft at Greenham Common Base"]

[Text] London—The Il-62 with the Aeroflot identification mark landed on the concrete runway of the Greenham Common air base.

It was delivering unusual visitors to the base, on which there are 96 U.S. cruise missiles. They are the Soviet inspectors who, under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, have the right to visit such bases on a reciprocal basis.

V. Lebedev, who heads the group, made a statement on his arrival stressing that an unprecedented period has arrived in human history. Our expert also pointed to the fact that the elimination of two types of nuclear missiles is the best method for making life safer and happier inasmuch as war and happiness are incompatible.

The Soviet guests are living directly on the Greenham Common base. They go to the canteen serving the U.S. personnel. The selection of video cassettes which their hosts offered them for viewing in their spare time includes the Hollywood movie "Star Wars." Having divided into two groups—one studied the state of affairs at Greenham Common, the other at Molesworth—the Soviet inspectors set to work.

I asked Mrs Linda Chernsayd [name as published], who is a member of the leadership of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—the most mass-based and influential antiwar organization in the British Isles—to comment on this visit. She will leave for Moscow in a few days: She has been invited by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace to attend as an observer an operation to destroy our first intermediate-range missile.

Here is what she said:

"I am very pleased that the inspectors from the USSR have been able to come to the Greenham Common and Molesworth bases. The provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have thus begun to be implemented. Understandably, these are the first steps on the path to freeing the world of nuclear weapons. The Soviet-U.S. agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles signified a breakthrough at the nuclear arms control talks.

"I await with interest my trip to the USSR next week. I will witness the destruction of the first SS-20 type Soviet missile. As someone who has been a member of the campaign for nuclear disarmament for many years, seeking a ban on weapons of mass annihilation, I feel pleased and surprised that I have been given the opportunity to attend an act symbolizing the beginning of the end of nuclear weapons."

### Inspectors Complete Tour

*LD2107195188 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] London July 21 TASS—Soviet inspectors visiting here in keeping with the verification provisions of the Soviet-American INF Treaty have completed their on-site tours of the Greenham Common and Molesworth bases where a total of 119 U.S. cruise missiles are located that are to be scrapped under the treaty.

The inspectors divided into two groups, each including ten members, Wednesday and these went each to its particular base.

Their aim was to verify the declared number of missiles, launchers and other equipment which will later be eliminated.

In accordance with the verification provisions, the inspectors may not make any comments to the press on the results of their work. The leader of the combined Soviet group, V.S. Lebedev, said in a brief statement two days ago during the official welcome for Soviet specialists at Greenham Common that the experience of the first inspectors has shown that the United States and the Soviet Union are strictly abiding by the treaty and the first steps to realize it have been successful.

The Soviet inspectors fly to Moscow tomorrow.

### U.S. Inspectors See SS-20 Missile Destroyed

*LD2207205588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2009 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jul (TASS)—The first explosion of an RSD-10 (SS-20) missile was conducted at the test site of Kapustin Yar (Volgograd Oblast) in the presence of a group of U.S. inspectors at 0905 Moscow time today, Colonel Gennadiy Komogorov, chief of the Internal Inspection Department of the National Center for Control of the Elimination of Intermediate-Range Missiles, stated today.

In accordance with the INF Treaty, the group of U.S. inspectors, led by Commander John Williams, spent 3 days verifying [proverit] the initial data which were given to the U.S. side after the ratification of the treaty—in particular, the number of RSD-10 (SS-20) missiles concentrated and prepared for elimination at the Kapustin Yar test site.

"I felt that I was one of the first to take part in such a great thing," John Williams stated to journalists at "Sheremetyevo-1" Airport, one of the inspectors' two points of entry onto the territory of the USSR. "The process of elimination proceeded in accordance with the treaty. When I saw the result of the destruction of the missile, I had a feeling of satisfaction."

He noted that throughout the whole inspection, he had felt the deep responsibility of both the Soviet and the U.S. sides. Not only was the number of weapons declared by the Soviet side verified during the inspection but the technical data corresponding to the signed documents as well. It was revealed that they completely matched the numerical indicators which had been cited by the Soviet side, John Williams said.

### Depart for West Germany

*LD2307072688 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—Commander John Williams expressed satisfaction with the inspection trip to the USSR. He headed a group of U.S. military experts who carried out an inspection at Kapustin Yar test site not far from Volgograd where RSD-10 missiles, which are known in the West as SS-20, will be eliminated by demolition under the INF Treaty.

Mr Williams told journalists before leaving Moscow by air that throughout the three days of the inspection he felt profound responsibility of both the Soviet and American sides. Full identity of the number of systems and their technical data declared by the Soviet side was confirmed during the inspection.

To John Williams that was already the fourth inspection trip to the USSR.

I can point out that wherever we went, we met with an exceptionally high degree of organisation and of the efficiency of the carrying out of inspections. We were received as hospitably as one could only dream of. All the meetings were notable for high professionalism, attentiveness and considerate attitude. Full mutual understanding was achieved and I hope that this is how it will be in future as well, he said.

The U.S. inspectors left Moscow for the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Friday night.

### U.S. Inspectors Complete Mission in GDR

*LD2007183688 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Berlin July 20 TASS—The U.S. military inspectors, who stayed in the GDR, have completed their mission today. As the ADN news agency reported, from 18 through 20 July, based on the Soviet-American INF Treaty, the inspectors carried out verification in places in the GDR, where missiles had previously been in position. The U.S. experts inspected facilities in Wahren, Wokul, Bischofswerda and Konigsbruck, where the OTR-22 missiles stood up to February 25.

### Retired U.S. Militarymen Visit Leningrad School

*LD2307182688 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] Leningrad July 23 TASS—A delegation of the U.S. Centre for Defense Information today visited the Higher All-Arms Command Military School in Leningrad. The guests familiarised themselves with the organisation and conditions of training, and everyday life of future officers.

Several days earlier former servicemen of the U.S. Army and Navy took part in the second Soviet-U.S. Conference of Retired Generals and Admirals in Moscow.

Practical proof of glasnost in the USSR was how the head of the U.S. delegation, retired Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque, called the visit to the school, which is one of the leading establishments in the system of training officers for the USSR Army.

Several hours in the school convinced the delegation more than the whole previous week that Soviet society is becoming more open, Gene La Rocque said in a TASS interview. During the visit, he said, they could discuss the most acute problems of war and peace with the military, who are reputed in the world to be the most conservative part of society. The most vivid impression was left by a meeting with cadets and officers. The meeting, La Rocque said, convinced him that Soviet servicemen were highly educated and well-informed. Gene La Rocque, who in his own words was familiar with the armed forces of 96 countries, called the Soviet Army one of the most democratic in the world: Nowhere he could witness such friendly and correct relations between commanding officers and their subordinates.

### TASS Correction to Karpov on Dismantling Radar

Moscow TASS in English at 1404 GMT on 22 July transmits the following correction to the item headlined "Karpov on Dismantling of Krasnoyarsk Radar," published in the 20 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 2:

Column one, paragraph seven, line three reads: "...ready to dismantle the equipment of the Krasnoyarsk radar in..." (supplying "the equipment of")

### Iranian, Iraqi Ministers To Meet UN Leader

*LD2207232288 Moscow TASS in English 2311 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] New York July 23 TASS—U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar met with five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council on Friday to inform them about Iran's and Iraq's consent to send their foreign ministers to New York early next week.

Perez de Cuellar is going to have intensive discussions with both ministers on various aspects of his plan to implement the U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 (on ways to settle the Iran-Iraq conflict).

The U.N. secretary general informed the permanent representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States, China, Britain and France at the United Nations that Iraq, like Iran, had agreed to receive a mission of U.N. military experts who are arriving in both countries these days to work out ceasefire terms.

The five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council expressed support for Cuellar's efforts to put into effect his plan of implementing the Resolution 598.

### Iranian UN Envoy Cited

*LD2207232588 Moscow TASS in English 2316 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] New York July 23 TASS—Iran is ready to implement all the provisions of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 unconditionally and without delay, but is prevented from doing so as a result of military hostilities continued by Iraq. Iraqi military activities damage Iranian civil installations and cause numerous casualties among civilians, Mohammad Ja'far Mahallati, Iran's acting ambassador to the United Nations, told a press conference on Friday.

He emphasized that the main goal of the forthcoming Iran-Iraq talks would be to reach a ceasefire agreement in accordance with the Resolution 598 and said that any preliminary conditions of its implementation being made by the Iraqi side were unacceptable. Mahallati told journalists that the Iranian Government had accepted the proposal to immediately send a group of high-ranking officials to New York to discuss with the U.N. Secretary General the order of implementing the Security Council Resolution 598.

The Iranian delegation, to be headed by Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, is arriving in New York on Monday.

### Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'

*LD2407174988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 24 Jul 88*

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Vladimir Georgiyevich Pasko, All-Union Radio commentator; Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, USSR Foreign Ministry collegium member and editor in chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN; and Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, TASS collegium member and chief foreign news editor]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, comrades. Today, as we direct our gaze, according to tradition, to the most major events of the past week—and there are many—I think we need to say something first of all about the extensive response throughout the world to the documents of the Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries, and to the Soviet initiatives for strengthening international security, which came a few days before the conference, during Comrade Gorbachev's friendly official visit to Poland.

I refer to the statement by the allied states regarding talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, a statement which was intended to stimulate the beginning of the appropriate talks; our proposal for a summit meeting of all the European countries, including, of course, the United States and Canada, to discuss the question of how to progress from words to actions in the sphere of conventional arms reduction; the proposal that the United States could lower the level of military confrontation in Europe by refraining from transferring their F-16 aircraft from Spain to Italy, in exchange for a reduction of our analogous forward-based aircraft in Eastern Europe; the suggested establishment of a European center for reducing the danger of war and preventing sudden attack; and, finally, the appeal that was made at the session in Warsaw for pooling efforts on a global and a European scale to preserve the natural environment and to convene a general European conference of ministers responsible for its protection.

The allied socialist states are willing to cooperate with all countries for the purpose of solving the vital problems that confront mankind. What attitude has been taken to the proposals made in Warsaw?

[Pyadyshev] I do not think I will be in error if I say that if one looks at the decisions of previous meetings of the Warsaw Pact and the speeches of Soviet representatives at respected international official forums of recent years, our country, the socialist countries, have every time unfailingly put forward new initiatives in the sphere of disarmament. That is why, this time also, the results of the session of the Political Consultative Committee were awaited with great interest throughout the world. Judging by the reactions, those hopes have been justified. Here is what French President Mitterrand said on the subject: When I heard Mr Gorbachev advocating the

idea that we should reduce conventional arms, I thought that demarche should be encouraged; for the first time since World War II, disarmament was being suggested instead of an upgrading of arms—and it is France's duty to support that movement.

In the opinion of West German Foreign Minister Genscher the results of that conference are an important contribution to strengthening East-West relations and developing the dialogue on disarmament. He noted that the content of the statement by the Warsaw Pact shows that the positions of the socialist countries and NATO are coming closer together.

It so happened that the session in Warsaw was held just before a session of the Common Market at the foreign minister level in Athens. Although, as observers remark, the main issue on the agenda of that very representative Western meeting was originally to have been combatting terrorism, most of its attention was devoted to the program of reducing armed forces and arms put forward by the Warsaw Pact. As indicated in a special press statement, the ministers of the 12 countries of the European Economic Community consider that a number of the ideas contained in the final communique reflect positions that have for a long time been supported by the countries of the EEC. This positive development, they say, should not be embodied in action.

What has been the reaction of NATO, to which these proposals were actually addressed? A NATO spokesman has announced that the Atlantic alliance will study the Warsaw Pact communique with the greatest care before commenting on its substance. Not without interest in this connection is an article in the Japanese newspaper ASAHI, which says: The member countries of NATO intend to draw up proposals of their own as a matter of urgency, so that the West, which has suffered a blow on the propaganda level, may regain the initiative.

If the West is going to regard this as merely an exchange of propaganda blows, then once again a real chance for progress along the road of reducing the threat of war will have been lost.

Much attention is being given abroad to those proposals by the Warsaw Pact states that concern reducing conventional arms. It needs to be said that the conventional arms we have today are not at all innocuous. They are innocuous neither militarily nor economically. It is wrong to imagine that less money, less resources, are spent on missiles, on strategic arms, than on the so-called conventioanl types of armament. Take for example a U.S. atomic aircraft carrier, which counts as a conventional weapon: It costs about 3 or 4 billion dollars, which is a lot more than the cost of any other category of strategic armaments. The fact that the Soviet Union, together with its Warsaw Pact allies, is now concentrating on the need to reduce conventional arms is important both in the sense of reducing the threat of war generally, and in the sense of relieving our national economic life of the excessive burdens of military expenditure.

In the West, especially in the countries of Western Europe, our proposal for a general European center for reducing the danger of war in Europe has attracted attention. It should be said that this is unprecedented. No country has ever made such a proposal before. The idea is that by their joint, collective efforts, all the states participating in the general European process should set up, anywhere, in one of the European countries, an international center in which representatives of all 35 states participating in the general European process would take part. The Polish Government has already offered to have the headquarters of such a center on Polish territory. The center could undertake to coordinate efforts to gather and check information regarding the numerical strength of armed forces and armaments on the European Continent. It would keep an eye on the situation, above all on the borders between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Should the need arise, the center could send teams to verify a situation, and if the situation became threatening, it could send inspection groups to check initial data on forces and armaments, their location, and so on. That is how we see the purpose of the center. In our opinion, it could have regional branches, or national centers, in addition to the general European center. In short, this is a proposal of very great political and military value.

[Chukseyev] As for the prospects of reducing armed forces and conventional arms, this will depend to a large extent on the line taken by the United States. At present, to put it mildly, it does not inspire any great enthusiasm. State Department and Pentagon spokesmen have rushed to reject both the proposal for a general European meeting on conventional arms control and the proposal concerning forward-based air forces in Europe. This inflexible behavior undoubtedly is dictated primarily by the domestic political situation. The U.S. Administration is just not willing to consider any serious changes in its outlook on foreign policy or military matters with a little over 3 months to go before the elections. The big question for the United States—and it still remains open—is who will occupy the White House: the current vice president, Bush, or his Democratic rival, Dukakis.

[Pasko] In talking about the week's events, one cannot, of course, omit mention of the national convention of the U.S. Democratic Party—one of the two major bourgeois parties in the United States, which take turns forming the administration and, with it, shaping the country's course in foreign affairs. I think listeners will be familiar with the results of the convention: Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts, and Texas Senator Bentsen were elected as the candidates for the posts of president and vice president, and the party's election platform was approved for the decisive stage of the fight for the White House before the November elections. It is

a document that merits special attention, I think. Some polls put Dukakis ahead of his Republican rival, so it is not impossible that the Democrats will shortly be determining the U.S. line on the international stage, and that includes disarmament issues.

One gathers from the reports that the Democratic platform does not include any proposals for a freeze on military spending or a U.S. undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. The draft confines itself to calling for more stable military budgets and emphasizing the need for the allies to take on a greater share of NATO expenditure. On armaments, the document speaks of a desire for a mutual and verifiable agreement to reduce strategic and conventional arms, ban chemical weapons and armaments in space, and stop nuclear tests.

Commenting on the draft document, THE NEW YORK TIMES noted that the authors clearly have endeavored not to frighten off the moderates and therefore have not put forward a single specific proposal to distinguish the Democratic Party from the Republicans in a way advantageous to the former. But what might this mean for us, for the disarmament talks, for Soviet-U.S. relations?

[Pyadyshev] We have to start from the fact that the electoral platforms of U.S. political parties and the practical activities of the administration formed after the presidential election—these practical activities begin in January of next year—are far from one and the same thing. The election slogans with which the political parties are trying to gain the White House are one thing, and the policy which the ruling elite actually pursues is another. So, when analyzing the Democratic Party's current political platform, we have to bear in mind the changes of course toward the practical amendments which the future president—if he is a Democratic president—will inevitably make to his policies under the influence of various factors, circumstances, and forces.

I would like to mention that the significance of Soviet-U.S. relations has been emphasized both at the national convention of the Democratic Party in Atlanta and in subsequent speeches by Democratic leaders. You see, the thing is that the world has now begun taking a different attitude toward us. To a considerable extent this is because we ourselves are changing. We ourselves have a self-critical attitude toward our recent past policies, we are drawing correct practical conclusions from this self-critical self-analysis, and this is helping create a new image [preceding word in English], a new picture of the Soviet Union and its foreign policy in the world. In developing their foreign policy plans, the U.S. leaders inevitably have to take into account these positive shifts in our foreign policy positions. This is an exceptionally crucial and interesting period for our policies.

You probably noticed that foreign policy did not take up all that much time or space at the 19th party conference, but it is in this unseen presence at the 19th party conference that its virtue lies. It indicates that our foreign policy boundaries are now firmer than at any time in the past. If there had been tensions on our foreign policy boundaries, the speeches at the party conference would have been in a different key. We have managed to reinforce our foreign policy boundaries; we have now managed to succeed in pushing aside the threat of war. All these factors, of course, are being taken into account by our political opponents in the United States, the NATO states, and other states of the world. Therefore, when we talk about how the future U.S. Administration—be it a Dukakis Democratic administration or a Bush Republican government—will develop its foreign policy, it depends to a considerable degree on how we develop our own foreign policy, above all where ensuring national security is concerned and as regards defense efforts, or, to put it simply, arms.

[Pasko] Everyone knows that a bad peace is better than a good conflict, though such wisdom is not always heeded by everyone. If one takes a glance at history, however, it is not hard to see that all the wars that have ever broken out between peoples have ended eventually in peace. Nor is the Iran-Iraq conflict an exception. This has been one of the most prolonged and bloody conflicts of the past few decades. According to some estimates it has cost around 1 million lives in just under 8 years. Last Monday Iran finally declared its adherence to the well-known UN Security Council resolution on ways of finding a peaceful settlement to the conflict. This was followed by consultations with representatives from the two countries. UN military experts are being sent to Iran and Iraq to work out the conditions for a cease-fire, and it has been announced that observers will be sent there on the day of the cease-fire to monitor withdrawal of troops to the internationally recognized borders. Dates will then be set for exchanging prisoners and beginning negotiations on achieving a comprehensive and just settlement of all problems between the two countries.

But not all is going smoothly. Whereas Iraq has called for direct talks under the umbrella of the UN secretary general, Iran is advocating talks mediated by the UN secretary general, that is, talks which rule out direct contacts. As for the military actions, there has been a bitter exchange of blows between the two sides, not only against military positions, but also against each other's industrial facilities, resulting in civilian casualties. But nonetheless, one senses that the war is in its death throes. It's no exaggeration to say that it has caused profound concern among the world community. The world has reacted with the most profound satisfaction to Iran's adherence to Resolution 598. At the same time, however, considerable shades of differences have been displayed in attitudes towards that event.

The United States has attempted to exploit it as confirmation of a certain effectiveness in its policy of building up armed forces in the Persian Gulf and has stated that it has no intention of changing that policy.

According to Walters, the U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations, there should be no doubts about the legitimacy of the West's naval presence in the Persian Gulf. Speaking at a Security Council meeting, he also tried to justify the shooting-down of the Iranian Airbus by the U.S. Navy, which caused the death of 300 people. Impartial analysis shows, however, that the U.S. military presence in the Gulf has fueled the war. According to the U.S. Defense Information Center, a total of 117 ships were attacked in the Gulf between July 1986 and July 1987, that is, before the United States began escorting Kuwaiti tankers there. In less that a year after the escorting began the number of such attacks reached 187, an increase of 60 percent. After visiting the Persian Gulf area in January of last year, U.S. Republican Senator D'Amato and Redman acknowledged that the U.S. military presence in the Gulf has less to do with oil deliveries and more to do with politics in that area.

I would mention that since 1985 the United States has increased the number of servicemen it has there from 2,000 to 15,000, and the number of ships from 6 to 27. It is perfectly obvious that if it weren't for outside interference, the regional conflicts, despite their complexity, could undoubtedly have been extinguished sooner. It is this interference which is holding up a settlement.

[Chukseyev] What you have said, Vladimir Georgiyevich, concerning U.S. policy towards the Iran-Iraq war is perfectly correct. But there is also another aspect to U.S. policy: there are also constructive elements. I remind you that that same Resolution 598, which calls upon Iran and Iraq to cease hostilities and which has now finally been accepted by Iran, was drawn up last year through the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States. The two superpowers invested their efforts, patience and skill in order to convince both one another and other states as well, in the aim of drawing up that very useful and constructive stance. Even today these contacts are continuing between Soviet and U.S. representatives on the question of the Iran-Iraq war. This example, this concrete example, shows just how important cooperation between the two great powers—the Soviet Union and the United States—is, both for regional peace and for universal peace. First and foremost, this cooperation is evident in bilateral relations, but certain aspects of it can be seen in regional problems in other parts of the world. I would like to say that we very much hope the U.S. Administration will also display this spirit of cooperation as regards the most acute and painful problem of all at the moment—the situation in and around Afghanistan.

[Pyadyshev] If one is to talk about Afghanistan, then in the time that has elapsed since our last conversation, events there have been developing in general according to the previous scenario. The Soviet Union has steadfastly been fulfilling the obligations resulting from the Geneva agreements, including the withdrawal of troops. At present more than 20,000 of our boys have returned home. On the other hand, Pakistan has been violating the agreements on Afghanistan in just as undisguised and provocative a manner as before. A new element has, incidentally, emerged in what is today an already sufficiently complicated situation. Kabul is increasingly frequently being bombarded with rocket projectiles. One of the commanders of the opposition, a certain Abdul Haq, announced a few days ago in an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS agency that they have approximately 20 stable objects to shell, or targets in the Afghan capital, including the airport, the Soviet Embassy, and the buildings of political and military departments. Abdul Haq chose not to say anything about the fact that in the overwhelming majority of cases the victims of such shelling are the civilian population—old people, women, children. In other words, under cover of slogans about defending sacred ideals, the opposition groupings are engaged in terrorist acts against the civilian population. Nor, incidentally, were their leaders stopped by the appeal of Afghanistan's president to proclaim the Muslim feast of sacrifice last week as days of truce among Afghans.

And another comment. To all appearances, the organizers of such acts of sabotage are pursuing the principle that the more monstrous the lie, the more likely it is that people will believe it. I have in mind their attempts to make out that Soviet troops are responsible for the explosions in Kabul. The terrorists' weapons, the rockets, are coming into Afghan territory from Pakistan just as before. Besides this, the Ziaul Haq regime still has on Pakistani territory camps for training the opposition formations. In view of accusations that it is violating the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements, last week Pakistan embarked upon a propaganda maneuver. The Pakistani representative circulated at the United Nations Organization a letter asserting that his country is rigorously observing the obligations that it assumed when it signed the agreements on an Afghan settlement. One can only say one thing to that: If the content of that letter did indeed correspond to the deeds of the Pakistani Government, the Afghan settlement would have made considerably greater progress. And probably the number of victims of the rocket shelling of Kabul among the civilian population would not be increasing with every passing day. But the fact is that in the period since 15 May alone, these terrorist acts have taken the lives of hundreds of people, and hundreds of people have been injured.

[Pasko] The situation in Afghanistan remains a complicated one, but the complications and difficulties must not blind one to the main thing that determines that situation: The settlement process is steadily going on. The withdrawal of Soviet troops is one of the elements of the whole package of the Afghan peace settlement. As far as that element is concerned, we are prepared to fulfill our obligations right to the end. By 15 August half of our troops, forming part of the Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan, will return home; if everything goes ahead as determined by the Geneva agreements, we reckon that by 15 February not a single Soviet soldier will remain on Afghan soil.

[Pyadyshev] I do not know to what extent we here at this radio roundtable can make friendly comments directed at our colleagues, the international observers from the television. But a few days ago, I watched a television program—I think it was the program "Repercussions"—and one of its participants, in making observations on the Afghan situation in light of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, said at one point fairly despondently that with our troops withdrawing from Afghanistan, and all the more so after the complete withdrawal of our soldiers from Afghanistan, here in the Soviet Union we shall not have the means or opportunity to influence the development of the Afghan situation. I would not be inclined to share such pessimism. Naturally when the Soviet soldiers leave Afghanistan, another situation will take shape there, but we will still have enough opportunities, sufficient potential, to exercise the necessary influence over the course of events in this country to the south of us.

Russia has long established and deep-going interrelations with Afghanistan. It is impossible to sever these mutual ties with a single blow. Yes, we are leaving in a military sense, but our cooperation in the political sphere, in the sphere of economy, in the sphere of culture, in science and technology, and so on, our cooperation with Afghanistan will still go on and will deepen. And, if you like, our presence, the Soviet presence, in these aspects, in these directions, will remain in Afghanistan.

[Chukseyev] The Soviet leadership, and indeed, all Soviet people, want our southern neighbor, Afghanistan, to be a peace-loving neutral, nonaligned state, friendly to the Soviet Union. There is every ground for believing that that is how it will turn out.

[Pasko] At the conference of the Political Consultative Committee, the leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states stated yet again that an end must be put to all interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan from without, and that assistance must be rendered in attaining a complete settlement of the Afghan question on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan, noninterference in its internal affairs, and the securing of the free and democratic development of the country. This stand also determines our approach to all other hotbeds of tension and conflict. It is the firm conviction of the allied socialist states that these issues must be solved by political means, with respect for the right of every people to determine its own destiny.

At this point, comrades, allow us to bring our meeting today to an end. Thank you. All the best.

## United States & Canada

### Akhromeyev Interviewed on Results of U.S. Visit

*PM2207163588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[Interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, by S. Guk: "Shoots of Trust. On the Soviet Military Delegation's Visit to the United States and on the Program for Further Contacts With the Pentagon"; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] No one could have imagined 2-3 years ago that it would become possible for U.S. inspectors to visit Soviet military facilities and a Soviet marshal to board an aircraft carrier flying the Stars and Stripes. Nevertheless, contacts have been established between the USSR Defense Ministry and the Pentagon. A Soviet military delegation headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, recently returned from the United States. It was there at the invitation of Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In an interview for IZVESTIYA, Marshal S.F. Akhromeyev answered questions about how the visit went, what it was possible to achieve, what problems are still outstanding, and the program for further contacts in the military sphere.

[Guk] Sergey Fedorovich, what were your feelings when you, a Soviet marshal, went on board a U.S. aircraft carrier or entered a missile base?

[Akhromeyev] The U.S. Armed Forces Command showed the Soviet delegation modern weapons. We visited the aircraft carrier "Theodore Roosevelt" and a strategic bomber and Minuteman-2 strategic missile base, and attended Marine and infantry exercises. We were also shown powerful weapons and the quite high level of training of U.S. troops and the U.S. Navy. What did I think and feel when I looked at all this? I am well informed on military matters through my service experience and by virtue of the position I hold. But my thoughts were as follows: How much has been created in order to wage war! But let us not forget that our troops and Navy also have approximately the same weapons and the same level of training. When I was looking at all these weapons, I thought over and over that we must first reach an agreement on the reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear arms, which can destroy mankind. I also voiced these thoughts to the U.S. Command.

[Guk] How did they react to what you said?

[Akhromeyev] I must say that Admiral Crowe, who received us, is a sober-minded, realistic man who realizes the enormous dangers involved in nuclear weapons. When we discussed this problem, I met with understanding from him concerning this threat.

[Guk] Judging by what you have said, you were prepared to see what you saw. Evidently, the U.S. military experts who come to the USSR are also hardly discovering anything new. In that case, what is the reason for these inspections of military equipment?

[Akhromeyev] During these visits the main thing is not the inspections of military equipment, as you are saying. The main thing is the links between military leaders, the conversations, the talks, and the statements of concern to one another.

[Guk] Whose hardware do you think is better: ours or the Americans'?

[Akhromeyev] While I was looking at U.S. arms and combat hardware, I frequently caught myself thinking that practically the majority of what the Americans showed us was comparable to and sometimes even absolutely identical with what we have. Such is the logic of weapons development, such is the level of technologies. Unfortunately, the arms race leads countries to improve their weapons all the time. Today weapons both in the USSR and in the United States are at a practically identical level. The Navy is a possible exception because the Soviet Union does not have aircraft carriers, while the United States has 15 of them and is continuing to build new ones. We were shown the yard where they are built. Incidentally, it is precisely aircraft carriers that pose a military threat to the Soviet Union, and I told Adm Crowe about this.

[Guk] The press reported that during your U.S. visit, the participants in the meeting discussed their military doctrines. Was it a difficult discussion? How long did it last? How much detail did the two sides go into?

[Akhromeyev] We spent many hours, perhaps dozens of hours, discussing with Adm Crowe—and in very great detail—the substance of the USSR and U.S. military doctrines. It was the most frank discussion that there can be between the military leaders of the USSR and the United States, and it was, at the same time, confidential. Each side is concerned about the other's military activity. It is a question not only of some details but of major strategic problems. I set myself the task of expounding the military-technical side of our doctrine and explaining it so as to dispel the U.S. military leaders' concern. Naturally, for our part, I expressed our concern and drew attention to the U.S. actions which pose a danger to the Soviet Union. It was an open and pointed discussion, but we attempted to understand one another. I cannot say that we overcame all problems. Unfortunately, the majority of them remained open; at least, that is my belief and Adm Crowe's too, I think. For there are many

differences and contradictions between our countries. But the fact alone that the two sides are trying to understand what is of concern to each of them is something useful in itself. Moreover, military doctrines are not a question that can be discussed in a single visit. It is a matter of fundamental problems which, we hope, will be discussed systematically in the future. I say "systematically" because meetings and visits by Soviet and U.S. military leaders will be of a quite regular nature.

[Guk] The mass media in the West say the following on doctrines: A doctrine is a theory and does not reflect a state's true intentions, which can be concealed; the chief thing is the sides' military potential.

[Akhromeyev] No, it is impossible to conceal the substance of a military doctrine. It is expressed by way of specific categories: the building of the armed forces, the operational training of higher command personnel, the combat training of troops and naval forces, and much else that is on the surface.

[Guk] Consequently, even after the discussion of military doctrines "blank spots" still remain....

[Akhromeyev] We told each other in full everything that alarms the Soviet Union and the United States. It is another matter that many of Adm Crowe's explanations did not satisfy me, nor did a considerable proportion of mine satisfy him. In that sense, it is possible to speak of "blank spots."

[Guk] How do you see matters continuing?

[Akhromeyev] When we voice our mutual concern and go our separate ways, each side (we have at least agreed as much) must start to think how to solve the problems that have accumulated. So that after a series of meetings, we should evidently reach a point of mutual accord and make joint decisions. After all, this is precisely how tension is removed. By voicing our objections to each other, both sides hope to reduce the danger of war in the future.

[Guk] Your strongest impressions from your visit please—positive and negative.

[Akhromeyev] I must say that I personally have formed no negative impressions, for two reasons. The first is possibly subjective: Adm Crowe had done everything to ensure that our visit was successful. He organized a great many meetings in various situations—including at exercises—with generals, admirals, officers, and soldiers. We had the opportunity to talk to hundreds of U.S. servicemen. We also had many conversations with civilians. We had meetings with high-ranking people: members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, state governors and city mayors, and businessmen. We also made contact with farmers, workers, scientists, and students. My strongest impression is that people evidently want to improve relations with the Soviet Union. The servicemen talked about this. And civilians persistently repeated that the visit by the Soviet military delegation had made an impression on Americans. They believe that the aim of improving relations is feasible, particularly when members of the military start to get together. The Americans' wish to improve relations with us is shown by the following fact at least: I, a military man, was approached by businessmen with specific requests. They want me to go to the leadership of the Moldavian SSR and help them organize joint enterprises in that republic. In Oklahoma, at the university there, I was asked to help establish ties with a Soviet university. People were aware that this is not my job, but they asked me nevertheless.

[Guk] What do you think: Is the discernible trend of getting away from the "enemy image" going to last?

[Akhromeyev] It is hard for me to answer this question. I would put it in a different way: We have seen Americans' desire to improve relations between our countries. To all appearances, this is not an isolated phenomenon. It is well known, as public opinion polls showed, that several years ago most Americans were of a different opinion. But now the majority is in favor of an improvement.

[Guk] About the question of trust: Is trust possible between armed forces, each having their own tasks?

[Akhromeyev] Why not? I believe that trust has now begun to emerge. But you must remember that trust between the USSR and the United States and their armed forces is, of course, founded on talks and, even more so, on verification. We have ratified the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles and stipulated strict verification measures which both sides are already putting into effect. The actual destruction of the missiles themselves will begin 1 August. If countries and their armed forces agree on joint measures and implement them under mutual verification, trust is the objective result. Consequently, I believe that the birth of trust is an objective reality. It is now based on strict verification. When both sides feel sure that the other is strictly honoring its pledges, the quality of this trust will certainly improve. Verification measures will remain, but they alone will not determine the climate of relations. Anyway, one would like to hope that this will be the case.

[Guk] What new contacts between the two countries' armed forces are planned for the future? Is there any schedule of exchanges for the foreseeable future?

[Akhromeyev] We have set in motion a plan of military contacts through 1990. Reciprocal visits by military leaders are planned for these 2 and ½ years. We will be visited by all the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Its chairman, Adm Crowe, will be coming to the Soviet Union next summer. In turn, the commanders in chief of

our Ground, Naval, and Air Forces will be visiting the United States. Soon, at the beginning of August, we are going to receive a visit from U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci. Reciprocal visits by warships are planned for 1989-1990. We have planned exchanges of delegations of military historians, doctors, and sportsmen. In other words, the plan signed will make it possible for representatives of the Soviet and U.S. Armed Forces to get to know one another better.

[Guk] Do we hope that these contacts will not come to an end in 1990?

[Akhromeyev] We plan to start work on drawing up a new plan sometime in 1989 or 1990.

### Carlucci's Early Aug Visit to USSR Previewed

*LD2207222088 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—TASS correspondent writes:

U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci is to pay an official visit to the USSR during the first days of August. It is expected that, in addition to bilateral talks which would include a third meeting between the Soviet and American defence ministers, the U.S. official will have an opportunity to visit some military facilities in the Soviet Union.

Last March Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defence minister, met with U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci in Bern. The meeting paved the way for contacts between the heads of the military departments of the two countries, which were continued during the Moscow summit meeting.

Early in July Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR and first deputy defence minister of the USSR, visited the United States. There, Akhromeyev and Admiral William Crowe, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, approved a plan for contacts between the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States for 1988-1990, providing for exchanges of visits by the leaders of the armed forces, military delegations and vessels of the two countries.

Such Soviet-American contacts aim at a better mutual understanding on the military aspects of Soviet-American relations, at solving the most important problem of today—the prevention of a nuclear war and cessation of the arms race. The Soviet and American military discuss issues pertaining to the military doctrines of their countries. In the field of arms control, however, the task is not to supersede official talks between delegations or the dialogue pursued on this area by the foreign ministers of the USSR and the USA. In the Soviet Union it is thought that the task of the military is to assist in solving the most acute and urgent questions in the fields of strategic offensive arms, of the military activities of the armed forces of the USSR and the USA as well as of the development of contacts on military matters.

### TASS Cites Carlucci Interview on Gulf Presence

*LD2507083088 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 25 TASS—The reaching of a ceasefire agreement in the Iranian-Iraqi war would not mean the end to the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf area.

This was made perfectly clear by U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci who spoke Sunday in the "Meet the Press" program of the NBC television company.

As Frank Carlucci put it, the U.S. "would certainly draw down as soon as feasible". However, he did not give any specific date and only said that "we would probably want to take some reasonable interval" before reducing U.S. naval armada in the Persian Gulf consisting today of 27 warships. As for a complete withdrawal of U.S. warships from that area, this, according to the U.S. secretary of defense, is out of the question. "We will always maintain a presence in the Gulf. We have been there for forty years, and we do not intend to leave", he said.

A massive U.S. naval presence in the region has led already to the shooting down of an Iranian airbus by missiles launched off the Vincennes, a most up-to-date American warship. That horrible tragedy was mentioned during the interview.

The presenter said: "When Admiral Crowe came before the American public that day, he said a number of things that have turned out to be not true. Now, is that because he took the word of the captain of the Vincennes and it was not checked out with other ships in the area, or was the Pentagon trying to give the best possible face on it and have the American people accept that explanation?" Answering this question, Carlucci said that Admiral Crowe, head of the joint Chiefs of Staff, had had only "first reports' at that time. The U.S. defense secretary maintained that "nobody knows to this day what the altitude of the plane was, what its actual course was". He said he had "no grounds for making that judgement until I see the investigation".

### Reagan Rebuts Democrat 'Accusations' on Radio

*LD2407065088 Moscow TASS in English 0639 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Washington July 24 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

U.S. President Ronald Reagan availed himself of his regular Saturday radio address to the nation to give a reply to the accusations which had been leveled at the Republican administration at the national convention of the Democratic Party in Atlanta this week.

He maintained that the United States was "in the longest peacetime economic expansion on record", that "America has created over 17 million jobs in the last five years", and that "a greater proportion of Americans in the workforce has jobs today than ever before in our history".

When the Democratic Party left the White House eight years ago, "inflation was at one of the highest levels in American history", Reagan stated. "Now, it's under control".

"Today, we have the first treaty in world history to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles", the President emphasized. "American-Soviet relations are better than they have been for a good, long while".

Analysts' opinion is that the subjects raised by Reagan in the weekly radio address will be actively used by the Republican Party and by U.S. Vice-President George Bush, who is seeking Republican presidential nomination.

In a response to Reagan's radio address, Congressman Beryl Anthony on behalf of the Democratic Party has pointed out that this autumn the Republicans will boast of the lowest unemployment, a low inflation and ongoing economic growth, but Ohio and Michigan paid for this by the closure of factories, and farmers wage an everyday struggle to keep their farms afloat.

The congressman said that following the Democratic Party convention in Atlanta, the Democrats' popularity had sharply risen.

## Further on Dukakis Presidential Campaign

### Stances, Chances Assessed

*PM2207152188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch under the rubric "Political Portrait": "The Contender. M. Dukakis, Democratic Candidate in Fight for White House"]

[Text] Atlanta, Jul—What do people in America admire? Enterprise, intelligence, industriousness, and, of course, dollars, because—so Americans believe—money ultimately reflects all the aforesaid qualities. But in the American system of values, the post of President has a special aura. It is the embodiment of the nation and American power, and it is the symbol of the "American dream."

That is why the making of a president here is always to some extent the making of a myth. This fact is not altered either by the obligatory criticism of the president in the United States, or by the satirical barbs of essayists and cartoonists. For they always poke fun at the specific person, but never at the office itself, which is a most important part of the national symbology.

Thousands of details go to make up the related legend of the infinite opportunities in America. One presidential biography to another repeats Dickensian stories of poor boys elevated by their vision and clarity of thought out from the slums right up to the seat of supreme power. Take just some recent examples: Carter, who in his childhood was a barefoot peanut seller, or Reagan—the son of an alcoholic who destroyed himself during the Great Depression.

And now Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, the Democratic candidate for president, is happily playing up to this legend.

A first-generation American and the son of poor Greek immigrants who crossed the ocean in 1912, he is now one of the two contenders for the country's highest office. But in what ways is he not a Hollywood subject who should wring a tear from any feeling person? It matters not that there are, so to speak, substantial differences between what was and what actually is. But who can resist the temptation to slightly "doctor the facts" to fit the legend?

So: M. Dukakis, born 1933, Greek Orthodox. He served 2 years in the Army in South Korea, graduated from Harvard Law School, then worked as an attorney and, at the same time, as a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was first elected state governor at 40. However, 4 years later, he suffered a crushing defeat. Why?

Having promised not to raise taxes, he sharply cut benefit programs for the elderly and mentally sick. Where was this? In liberal Massachusetts! As a result, while balancing the budget after 4 years, Dukakis had turned everyone—even his own staff—against him.

Then in 1978 he was warned that he would lose. Dukakis did not even want to listen. "He still doesn't listen to anybody," one of his close acquaintances said. "Only now he's gotten more careful." For Dukakis—the rising star of the Democratic Party—defeat for such a supremely confident person as himself came like a bolt from the blue. Four years later, fate gave him a chance for revenge, and Dukakis has been state governor for the 6 years since then.

One of the cornerstones of the Dukakis legend—and every candidate creates his own legend—is the much-vaunted economic prosperity of Massachusetts during his governorship. His entourage, without false modesty, calls it the "Massachusetts miracle." When Dukakis entered the presidential race last April, the state budget had been in surplus for several years in a row, the unemployment rate was one of the lowest in the country, and the governor had even managed to cut taxes. A real

miracle. In fact, it is the basis of an "image" which the governor's supporters are pushing hard—a thrifty, taciturn technocrat, a manager accustomed to getting the right results and who, if elected, would put the country's "struggling" economy in order.

There is no doubt that Dukakis had a hand in creating the "economic miracle" in Massachusetts. However, a lot of it derives from Reaganomics, with its tax cuts for big business that generated an economic boom, and from the development of electronics and ultramodern technologies, which is determined by the presence in the state of Harvard and MIT. And, however paradoxical it may seem, a part was also played in the economic upsurge by the level of military orders placed in Massachusetts—one of the highest levels in the country and directly linked with the surge in federal military spending during the Reagan years. True, during the presidential campaign, the well-oiled "Massachusetts miracle" machine has now started to sputter: Governor Dukakis is facing a budget deficit of $400 million, which his rivals, the Republicans, have not failed to pounce on.

"One thing I would say about Michael," the contender's 84-year-old mother Euterpe said, "what you see is what you get." But in fact, little can be read into Dukakis' appearance, since what you see is by no means "presidential": He is short (172 cm) and narrow-shouldered. His only remarkable features are his thick bushy eyebrows and his long nose, which is not "Greek" at all. It was these "prominent" details of his appearance that were first seized on by cartoonists—for whom, as is well known, nothing in America is sacred. However, Dukakis' mellifluous rich baritone voice clearly wins against the piping tenor of the tall G. Bush.

Dukakis always speaks with confidence. Even the most banal things—for instance, "the family is American society's most important institution"—are said as if they were a great discovery. To be fair, it should be noted that Dukakis is highly intelligent. Clearly, he has quite deliberately chosen the tactic in this election campaign of talking in generalized, slick cliches and expressions, and is not trying very hard to reveal his own views so as to avoid any possible accusations or attacks.

What about Dukakis' humble beginnings? When reporters rushed to find out some details about his life, it turned out that Dukakis has assets of approximately $1.5 million and, thus, is not very different in this respect from Bush. At first many people were confused by the fact that in his habits and everyday life Dukakis is very modest. He often takes the subway or bus to work in Boston, brings his lunch with him, and chides his wife over her predilection for expensive stores and restaurants. Incidentally, in America, puritanical parsimony is no vice.

One of the main questions is: What produced Dukakis' current success? What set him apart from the number of other hopefuls—of whom, as is well known, there were seven this year. I think that a part was played by Dukakis' considerable ability, an even greater part by his contacts, and—finally—plain luck.

When the seven Democrats started their campaigns almost 18 months ago, G. Hart was the undisputed favorite. He was undone by a yacht trip with a pretty blonde. Just who revealed these intimate details to the journalists remained a secret. One of the strongest rivals was Senator J. Biden. Journalists were told that Biden was using in his speeches not only the gestures of the British Labor Party's N. Kinnock, but also the texts of his speeches. Biden's exit from the game followed. Who had directed the mass media to this detail? A certain J. Sasso, Dukakis' closest adviser. Just what Sasso was guilty of is not quite clear, but it is curious that the governor, nonetheless, kicked him out of his entourage. Then things got easier. Dukakis' longest-running rivals were Senator A. Gore and the black preacher J. Jackson. Jackson, to the left of Dukakis, thus "turned" him into an entirely moderate figure.

Dukakis was backed by powerful forces traditionally influential in the Democratic Party. The contender's "financial angels"—Farmer, Aronson, Leventhal, and Rothenberg—collected a sum of money twice as large as that of Dukakis' nearest rival in the battle for the Democrats' purse strings. Bourgeois Jewish money carries enormous weight with the Democratic Party and, clearly, Dukakis' highly pro-Israeli stance is no accident: He advocates transferring the Israeli capital to Jerusalem, for instance.

It seems that the right-wing, conservative wave that swept Reagan to power in 1980 is receding in the country. Talk that "more butter and fewer guns" are needed is again becoming popular. And this plays into the hands of the Democrats as a whole, as a party to the left of the Republicans, and, of course, Dukakis personally. The tactics he chose during the primaries were also conducive to his success. He avoided attacking rivals from his own party, focusing his critical fire mainly on the Republicans.

During the campaign, Dukakis talked about the need to provide work for all Americans, that is, to do what F. Roosevelt promised. His position as governor has so far been a plus, since it allows him to escape the attacks usually made from both right and left on legislators for having voted "wrongly" on foreign policy issues. Does this "peripheral" position mean that he lacks experience in international affairs? Well, in the eyes of Americans, this is a small and rectifiable fault: One need only remind them of Carter and Reagan.

Dukakis supports the administration's policy on relations with the USSR, while at the same time condemning Reagan's policy in Central America, southern Africa, and the Persian Gulf. He opposes SDI and the development of the Midgetman mobile ICBM, but he supports the limited deployment of MX missiles. At the same

time, he is wholeheartedly in favor of the accelerated development of conventional arms and armed forces—a fact which does not go down particularly well with the United States' West European allies, since, as is well known, conventional arms are far more expensive than nuclear weapons.

All this is undoubtedly important, but only as a general philosophical outline of the foreign policy which Dukakis would pursue were he to enter the White House. No more. For any American president's specific line in the international arena (even for such a convinced ideologue as Reagan) is determined by specific circumstances on the one hand and overall correlation of forces in the world on the other.

Will Dukakis be effective in pursuing his foreign policy line? The unwritten rules of U.S. politics state that policy implementation is always more complex for liberals than for politicians with a solid right-wing reputation. That is why moderates always have to "hang tough" in international affairs so as not to give the noisy and always suspicious right wing any grounds to accuse them of being "soft."

Incidentally, Dukakis is already giving grounds for not relying too much on his "ideological purity" on foreign policy matters. Take his choice of running mate, that is, the vice-presidential candidate: Senator L. Bentsen of Texas, a choice dictated by a desire to win in November at all costs. U.S. elections are there for the winning, not the taking part. That is the local political wisdom, and Dukakis acts in complete accordance with it.

Bentsen provides Dukakis with the ties he needs with the conservative wing of his party and allows him to improve his overall chance of victory. That is clearly why Jackson—although ideologically much closer to Dukakis—was passed over in the choice of vice-presidential candidate. So principles are okay, but if they become a lead weight in the exhausting presidential marathon, then it's goodbye to principles! All this is termed "political realism."

The Democrats, it seems, smell victory for the first time in many years, and it acted like a drug on the delegates at the Democratic Convention in Atlanta. As I write these lines, the convention is still going on, but the contender's political portrait has already taken shape.

Polls of potential voters show that the chances of the candidates from the two bourgeois parties are currently about even. Whom will Americans prefer? The answer to that question will be known in November.

### Addresses Democrats, Leads Bush

*PM2507110988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS reports: "M. Dukakis: 'We Can Do More'"]

[Text] Atlanta, 22 Jul—The 40th Democratic Party national convention has ended at the Omni Coliseum concert and sports complex. The convention delegates have elected Michael Dukakis, governor of Massachusetts, and Senator Lloyd Bentsen from Texas as candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States respectively and approved the party's election platform in the decisive stage of the struggle for the White House before the November presidential elections.

Addressing the delegates, M. Dukakis sharply criticized the Republican administration's political and economic legacy with one exception. He welcomed the fact that "President Reagan has prepared the ground for the thorough reduction of nuclear armaments." However, the presidential candidate stressed, "we can do far more to prevent the proliferation of nuclear and chemical arms; we can do far more to establish peace in Central America and the Near East; and we can and will do far more to end the apartheid regime in South Africa."

Dukakis devoted the bulk of his speech to the traditional election promises, which essentially amounted to a promise to work for "equality of oportunity" and a "good life for all." Virtually every phrase which Dukakis uttered was lost in thunderous applause, but who in fact was applauding?

The Democratic Party traditionally calls itself the party of the "ordinary people" and the "defender of the working people's interests." However, a poll conducted by the LOS ANGELES TIMES and CNN Television among the more than 4,000 delegates to the convention showed that industrial workers and farmers made up only 4 percent of delegates, that three-fourths of the delegates were government employees, businessmen, labor union bosses, lawyers, and so forth.

New York, 22 Jul—According to the findings of a public opinion poll conducted by ABC Television, M. Dukakis is ahead of Vice President George Bush, who is virtually assured of the Republican Party's nomination as presidential contender. Some 53 percent of those polled supported Dukakis, 41 percent supported Bush. Thus the gulf between the rivals has widened appreciably compared with the television company's previous poll last Sunday.

### U.S. Students 'Warmly Welcomed' in Tbilisi

*LD2407194888 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Tbilisi July 24 TASS—There was no need for an interpreter during a conversation held Saturday at the Council of Ministers of Georgia, a Soviet Transcaucasian republic. And the reason for this was not only that pupils of the Soviet-American summer computing school functioning here, who were invited to the house of the government today, can communicate in English, Georgian and Russian. The reason is that the range of problems discussed, the very theme of the conversation—bringing up children in the spirit of humaneness

and the striving for friendship—was close and understandable to all. Those present were warmly welcomed by deputy chairman of Georgia's Council of Ministers, Otar Melkadze.

Representatives of the Rocky Mountain School from the city of Aspin, Colorado, have been staying in Georgia for several days now. Over this period young Americans learnt much about Georgia's ancient history and culture, about its present day, about the establishment of contacts with American business circles, youth organizations, cities. The Georgian capital Tbilisi has become a sister-city of Atlanta.

The improvement of Soviet-American relations is quite apparent now. This was largely promoted by regular meetings between leaders of the USSR and the USA, said Director of the Rocky Mountain School Angela Foster. It is a duty of young people, of those who will live and work in the 21st century, to save this climate of confidence and to do everything for the preservation of the spirit of mutual understanding, of peace on earth, she said.

The same feelings were expressed by Margory Davilbess who studies Georgian. She said: "We feel fine here and not only for the reason that the sun is shining and there are lots of flowers everywhere. We feel the warmth of your attitude."

### U.S. Senators Depart Moscow After Visit

*LD2207164288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0758 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jul (TASS)—The group of U.S. senators who were in the USSR at the invitation of the USSR parliamentary group, left the Soviet Union today.

## China

### PRC Role in Cambodian Settlement Viewed

*OW2407101188 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The unofficial talks on a political settlement of the Cambodian issue will take place in Jakarta on 25 July. There will be talks between representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and representatives of their opposition—the tripartite coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea.

The representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will be attending this meeting with objectively acknowledged achievements. The Republic was founded 9 years ago, on January 1979. What Pol Pot left behind in the country was a shambles, a country which had been ravaged, deserted, and (?destabilized). The picture that the liberated people in Phnom Penh saw 9 years ago was one of millions of Cambodian people slaughtered, (?living quarters boarded up), government organs ravaged, sports fields overgrown with weeds, factories closed down, huge piles of garbage dumped everywhere in the streets, and temples destroyed.

Today Phnom Penh is a vibrant, bustling city with 700,000 people. There are many stores, workshops, barbershops, pharmacies, and eateries on the main streets. Factories are producing. Students are studying in colleges and secondary and primary schools. In the rural areas farmers work hard in the fields. In short, people are pleased to see that the new government has brought a new life to the Cambodian people, and that the people will again be able to enjoy a good life.

Unfortunately, there are still political obstacles to achieving complete peace and tranquility. Peace has yet to be restored on the ancient land of Cambodia. It is very important, therefore, for all factions in Cambodia to find a common language and to work hard together to rebuild their country.

There are good prospects in this regard. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has put forward plans for national reconciliation and the establishment of a coalition government. It is also appealing for cooperation from all people, except Pol Pot and his close lackeys because of their genocidal policy toward their own people.

The international environment is also conducive to Cambodia's policy of reconciliation. Vietnam has declared that it will withdraw 50,000 volunteers from Cambodia this year, and will withdraw the rest by the end of 1989 or early 1990. Once the Cambodian issue has been settled, (?troop withdrawal will be accelerated.) This was reaffirmed by Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, at his meeting with Gorbachev not long ago.

ASEAN members are also very much concerned about the settlement of the Cambodian issue. The fact that all factions in Cambodia will meet in unofficial talks in Jakarta is specifically due to the efforts made by the Indonesian Government.

Leaders of the Nonaligned Movement and leaders of the Arab states, as well as political leaders of African and Latin American countries, have also expressed their willingness to contribute to the restoration of peace in Cambodia. The United Nations has been discussing the issue as well.

The future of the negotiations on the Cambodian issue depends to a large extent on China because China has been providing military assistance and moral support to Cambodia's opposition. Recently, Beijing has time and again stated that China hopes to see the elimination of hot spots in Southeast Asia. The Cambodian people and the people of other countries in the region hope that

China will take concrete actions to match what it says. Whether this hope can be realized depends on whether the Jakarta meeting can achieve its anticipated results.

## Reportage on Song Rufen, NPC Delegation Visit

### Reform, Legislation Observed

*OW2207125588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] As reported in our news program, at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] delegation headed by Song Rufen, member of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the Legislative Affairs Commission under the NPC Standing Committee, is now paying an official working visit to our country. Our special reporter Yanikeninov writes:

This is the fourth delegation of the Chinese NPC to visit our country since March 1985 when the two countries resumed an exchange of visits by their parliamentarians. Last year, a delegation of the Chinese NPC Standing Committee Nationalities Committee also visited our country. Before that, delegations of the Education, Science, Culture, and Public Health; Foreign Affairs; and Financial and Economic Committees also paid visits. Several delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet have also paid return visits to China.

The purpose of this visit by the Chinese NPC delegation is to study our country's legislative experience. Our Chinese comrades' interest in this matter is entirely understandable. At present, both of our countries are undertaking profound reforms in economic, social, and political fields. To reform, there must be laws. The laws of the past contradict the new trend of our socialist development, but even some new laws have failed to meet the needs of reforms in economic and other fields as expected. Under these circumstances, studying foreign experiences will help us see problems from a new and wider perspective and to solve them correctly.

During their visit to the Legislative Proposals Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ministry of Justice, and Departments of State and Law under the Academy of Sciences, members of the Chinese delegation showed great interest not only in our laws and regulations designed to protect economic and political reforms, but also in the democratization of the legislative process in the USSR. They also introduced China's legislative experience. Both parties favor the idea of further developing cooperation between the legislative bodies of the two countries and cooperation between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Chinese NPC Standing Committee.

Answering this reporter's question on the matter, Chinese delegation leader Song Rufen said:

[Begin recording] Exchanges between the parliaments of our two countries will certainly increase. Our visit to your country this time will also contribute to the cause of better friendship and interchange: It gives us opportunity to learn from Soviet reforms and development. What interests me most is finding out what major laws the USSR will formulate in order to meet the needs of reforms. I believe that cooperation between the law committees of our two countries depends mainly on exchanging information and experience. [end recording]

### Meet With Legislative Commission

*OW2407101388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] The delegation of the Legislative Affairs Commission of the Chinese NPC led by Commission Vice Chairman Song Rufen was received by members of the Legislative Proposals Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Wednesday. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere, both sides discussed the prospects of strengthening ties between the permanent commissions of the supreme organs of state power of the two countries. They also exchanged views on improving judicial work in their respective countries.

Both sides held that further strengthening the ties between the parliaments of the two countries serves the interests of both the Soviet Union and China.

### Visit to Kiev

*OW2307014688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] The Chinese NPC delegation, which is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is continuing its visit. The delegation led by Song Rufen, deputy chairman of the NPC Law Committee, visited Kiev, capital of the UkSSR, on 21 and 22 July. Bakhtin, deputy chairman of the presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, received the Chinese NPC Delegation. He briefed the Chinese guests on the economic situation and the reform in the Ukrainian SSR and on how the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was being implemented there. The Chinese delegation also called on the UkSSR Legislation and Motion Committee and the Ukrainian chapter of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

### Chita Oblast, Inner Mongolia Begin Border Trade

*OW2507104288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Representatives of the Xilin Gol League People's Government of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the local government of Zabaykalsk District of the Soviet Union's Chita Oblast have signed an agreement to conduct direct trade and economic activities. Our station reporter (Karachivich) reports on this in some detail:

[Passage omitted] After signing the agreement to establish direct ties, trade organizations in Zabaykalsk and Manzhouli Cities immediately exchanged the first batch of goods. Trade and economic personnel on the Chinese side supplied sewn and knitted clothing, sports goods, (?chemical fertilizer), motorcycles, household utensils, musical instruments, and timber to their Soviet neighbors. This of course is only the first step in the development of direct trade and economic ties. However, prospects are bright. [passage omitted]

### Scientific Cooperation Program Adopted

*OW2207114388 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] The third meeting of the Soviet-Chinese Scientific and Technological Cooperation Committee, which was held in Moscow, adopted a program that calls for cooperation in the manufacturing of machine tools, the petrochemical industry, geology, agriculture, and the machine-building industry.

Ruan Chongwu, head of the Chinese delegation, said: China is looking forward to the Soviet Science and Technology Day, scheduled to be held in China in September, with great interest. According to the plan, more than 60 ministries and competent departments and many scientists will take part in the exhibition. Ruan Chongwu noted: I hope the Soviet Science and Technology Day to be held in China, as well as the Chinese Science and Technology Day to be held in the Soviet Union next year, will further strengthen Sino-Soviet relations.

## Northeast Asia

### Further Reportage on Visit by Japan's Nakasone

#### Nakasone, Gorbachev Confer

*OW2207163588 Tokyo KYODO in English 1554 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 22 KYODO—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone failed in a meeting here Friday morning to find common ground on the thorny issue of Japan's territorial claim to four Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido.

Nakasone, emerging from a marathon two hour 40 minute face-off with Gorbachev, told reporters however that the Soviet leader said he will send Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Japan before the end of the year.

Nakasone told a press conference later that Gorbachev was tough toward Japan's territorial claim.

Meeting reporters at a Moscow hotel after his talks with the Kremlin leader, Nakasone said the face-off was useful in that it continued the dialogue between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Political observers have been focusing on the so-called "northern territories" aspect of Nakasone's visit, as the former prime minister had been expected to directly sound Gorbachev out on the longstanding bilateral issue.

Meeting in Gorbachev's private Kremlin office, the two discussed a wide range of international affairs and bilateral problems, Japanese officials said.

Touching on the territorial dispute, Nakasone called on the Soviet Union to reopen negotiations on the issue that has stood in the way of concluding a peace and friendship pact between the two countries.

Nakasone called Gorbachev's attention to a 1956 Soviet-Japanese joint declaration and related diplomatic documents that stated that the two countries would undertake regular consultations toward the eventual conclusion of a peace treaty.

The declaration, he said, also stated that the negotiations would take into account the disputed islands off the east coast of Hokkaido that were occupied by the Soviet Union at the end of World War II.

The Soviets disavow the joint declaration in 1960, following their displeasure at the revision of the Japan-U.S. security treaty. They have since maintained that no territorial dispute exists between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Gorbachev responded by noting that the two countries have "different approaches" to the territorial dispute, Japanese officials said.

He told Nakasone that the Soviet decision to sign the joint declaration had been based on the realities of the day. He said the Soviet Union had shown a sense of goodwill, but Japan had responded by insisting on the return of the four islands en bloc.

Gorbachev reminded Nakasone that the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev had offered in the 1973 meeting with then Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka to return to Japanese sovereignty two of the disputed islands Japan had laid claim to, but noted that the offer was rejected.

This is the first time Gorbachev has touched on the Soviet proposal for a partial return of the islands.

Brezhnev proposed conceding the island of Shikotan and the Habomai group. Japan lays historical claim not only to Shikotan and the Habomais, however, but also to the larger islands of Etorofu and Kunashiri.

Nakasone told Gorbachev that adversarial East-West relations stem from the confrontation between Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's expansionist diplomacy and the West's policy of containment.

He also said Soviet stationing of troops of the disputed islands was "an act of Stalin's wrongdoing."

The Soviets are believed to maintain a strong military presence on Kunashiri, recently estimated by Japanese defense sources at some 10,000 troops and 40 MiG-23 fighters.

Gorbachev was quoted as saying the Soviet Union had suffered a loss of 20 million people in World War II, and that the established borders with Europe cannot be subject to revision.

Observers believe that the Soviet Union fears that making concessions to Japan would open the floodgates to territorial demands from the many neighboring countries along the vast Soviet frontiers.

Gorbachev assured Nakasone that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Japan by the year-end, finally responding to repeated Japanese requests for the foreign minister to come to Tokyo.

Shevardnadze will be resuming regular consultations with his Japanese counterpart, Sosuke Uno. He last visited Japan in January 1986.

The two are also expected to meet in New York in September, when they will both be attending a meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

Nakasone encouraged Gorbachev himself to make an early visit to Japan. He said Gorbachev indicated his willingness to make such a visit at the earliest possible time.

Nakasone also raised the subject of South Korean President No Tae-u's proposals made July 7 for expanded inter-Korean dialogue and exchanges, Japanese officials said.

He suggested that a relaxation of tensions on the Korean peninsula would have a positive influence on the development of resource-rich Siberia in the Soviet Far East, the officials said.

Nakasone further said that Japan is prepared to promote economic relations with North Korea if the Seoul Olympic games are carried through to a safe and successful conclusion.

Gorbachev promised to convey No's proposals and Japan's intentions to Pyongyang.

Nakasone's meeting with Gorbachev was his first in over three years. The two last met in March 1985, when the then prime minister went to Moscow to attend the funeral of Gorbachev's predecessor Konstantin Chernenko.

Nakasone was accompanied to Moscow this time by former Chief Cabinet Secretary Takao Fujinami and former Minister of Posts and Telecommunications Tokutaro Higaki.

He gave a speech before a Soviet economic and international affairs research institute on Wednesday in which he hailed recent Soviet foreign policy initiatives but called for even more progress.

Nakasone, who stepped down as Japan's leader last November, has been visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of a Supreme Soviet parliamentary group since Wednesday. He is scheduled to return to Tokyo next Thursday.

### PRAVDA Reports on Talks

*PM2507085988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2*

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev Receives Y. Nakasone"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev received Japanese MP Yasuhiro Nakarone in the Kremlin on 22 July. Greeting the former prime minister of Japan, Gorbachev noted that their meeting could evidently be considered a realization, at long last, of a long-standing intention of both sides. Soviet-Japanese relations, in the meantime, have continued to skid, falling behind processes under way in the whole world and behind the level of the USSR's and Japan's relations with third countries.

Considering the interlocutors' broad view of the present-day world, their conversation took a thorough conceptual form.

My wish, Gorbachev said, is to freely and openly discuss the present-day world and its principal tendencies, proceeding from the objective existence of universally shared human values and from the fact that we all are the same civilization on the same planet, although we are different. Productive dialogue is possible, if one does not think in terms of how to defeat the other side. The social choice and respective ideological and political values may be different. This is an objective, established fact. We communists take it calmly. Correspondingly, any "crusades" against communism sound nonsensical to us. I am deeply convinced—and my conviction reflects the public mentality in the entire socialist world—that differences are no reason to go to war. This is the main thing. If this is accepted, then it is possible to conduct productive discussions and even to compete, without claiming a monopoly on "utmost perfection." Any monopoly leads to decay.

Responding to Nakasone's reminder that they are to hold a new meeting with the participation of other representatives of the "tripartite commission," Gorbachev said: Such a discussion will be meaningful if we are guided by a desire to understand the realities of the modern world, to deepen our notions of each other, and to seek ways to a better future for all, taking it as the point of departure that every people decides for itself what form of ownership it will prefer, "to what God it will pray," and what values will suit it best. Not to stick to stereotypes, but to use the accumulated experience and wisdom (if wisdom it really is) in order to really understand the processes at work. This will help to avoid extremes, fertilize a balanced approach, and serve to improve international relations.

There is always a danger when people who have devoted themselves to politics and who are experienced in this matter turn this occupation of theirs into an intellectual game, demonstrating a political snobbery divorced from real needs, from the interests of the peoples. It is necessary to free modern politics from this corruptness by professionalism fraught with politic intrigue [politikanstvo]. The anxious, troubled world needs a new policy, based on new thinking, on new approaches, and on a serious attitude to realities.

Nakasone expounded his concept of East-West cooperation, including that for the Asia-Pacific region. Gorbachev noted that he found in Nakasone's interesting observations both things with which he could agree and things with which to take issue, and that he was ready to return to the discussion of this subject.

He noted in passing that in the scheme of mutual relations in the Asia-Pacific region formulated by Nakasone, he failed to see a mention of the Soviet Union. He compared this scheme with the approach proposed in 1986 in the Vladivostok speech, which called for considering how to begin movement in the interests of all those, without exception, who are connected with the Asia and Pacific region, by making economic ties more dynamic, by holding bilateral and multilateral political dialogue, by creating zones of confidence, and by taking other steps, for the sake of civilization in the 21st century. The existence of contradictions, problems and complexities is not a justification for doing nothing, rather the contrary.

Gorbachev also noted the discrepancy, typical of U.S. and other figures, between the publicly proclaimed goals on the East-West problem and the practice of closed talks, where they sow suspicion and mistrust toward the Soviet Union and where the spirit of "power politics" still reigns supreme.

Soviet-Japanese relations were examined from various angles. Nakasone raised the issue that it was necessary to get the Japanese interested in dealing with the Soviet Union. This concerns above all the Far East, where the most diverse links—economic, sports, tourist, cultural—would be desirable. Gorbachev spoke of plans for the development of the Far East, now part of one all-union program, which provides for a more rapid development of Siberia and the Far East over other regions of the country. We are considering making Vladivostok an open city in the near future.

The issues of interstate relations between the USSR and Japan featured prominently in the conversation. Different judgments were expressed on the historical context in which they have taken shape. In principle, Gorbachev said, we are interested in good relations with Japan in every area, from political interaction to people-to-people contacts. We regret that over the 3 years of perestroyka, when the USSR's relations with many other countries have made significant headway, those with Japan have stayed put and at times even rolled back. Neither from a political or economic standpoint, nor from the viewpoint of good-neighborliness, are such relations becoming to two neighboring countries of such stature. This is apparently due in part to the still lingering notions that the Soviet Union is allegedly more interested in a better relationship than Japan. If this is indeed the basis of your policy, then you and we won't make it. As far as we are concerned, we seek not to do anything that would infringe upon the interests of the Japanese people. But, naturally enough, ultimatum-style approaches and demands are unacceptable to us.

We believe that the starting point for talks on Soviet-Japanese relations should not be the moment of the restoration of diplomatic relations, but rather the results of the war. This should be the point of departure if we really want to understand past events. And, of course, it is essential to take into account the influence exerted on them by Japan's relations with other countries.

As a result of such a discussion on Soviet-Japanese relations, with a common desire to get them out of the deadlock and to give them a boost toward normal development, Gorbachev suggested stating the following: A substantive exchange of opinions took place. Both sides agree that developing Soviet-Japanese relations meets the interests of both countries and would contribute to the world process and to improving the situation in Asia and the Pacific. They agree that there are differences of opinion, but that it is imperative to think of developing relations. In this connection the understanding was confirmed on sending a Soviet parliamentary delegation to Japan, and on a visit by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the end of this year. Exchanges of visits at summit level in the future are not ruled out either.

At his interlocutor's request Gorbachev briefed him on the larger problems of perestroyka in light of the results of the 19th party conference.

Gorbachev asked Nakasone to convey greetings to his colleagues in the party and to all the Japanese public: May the Japanese think of the Soviet Union as a good neighbor; we do not wish for Japan anything but favorable events.

Nakasone asked Gorbachev on his own behalf and on behalf of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita to tell the Soviet people that they are for developing Japanese-Soviet relations on the basis of good-neighborliness.

Sitting in on the meeting were Ambassador Toshiaki Muto and K. Togo, a department head at the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

### Further on Talks

*OW2507100988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] General Secretary Gorbachev held talks with Japanese Diet member Nakasone on 22 July at the Kremlin. Upon receiving the former Japanese prime minister, Gorbachev first pointed out that this meeting could be considered the fulfillment of a long-standing wish for both parties. On the other hand, Soviet-Japanese relations have been running around in circles, falling behind developments in the world situation and relations of the USSR and Japan with third countries. Wide-ranging conceptual discussions were held during the meeting, concerning both countries' general approach to contemporary world issues.

Gorbachev further stated: My wish is to discuss openly and freely the contemporary world and its major developments. During such discussions we must acknowledge the existence of common values for all mankind; that is, we must take the stand that although we have differences, we live in one world and form one civilization. Productive dialogue is perfectly possible as long as we do not think of defeating the opposite side. There are different social choices and proper ideological and political values.

I firmly believe that differences should not be the cause of antagonism. This common conviction of the entire socialist community has reinforced my belief. This is the most important point. If this is accepted, then it is possible to conduct productive dialogue and engage in competition. It is only then that discussions can become meaningful. A basic condition for such discussions is the determination to skillfully orient the desire to understand the reality of the present world, in order to deepen our mutual understanding of each other's notion of the other party and to seek a better future for all. Underlying such a posture is the idea that each nation has a right to choose its own god and it is up to each people to determine which value system is most suitable for them. If we refrain from adhering to stereotypes but make good use of the accumulated experience and wisdom—if wisdom it really is—we shall be able to face the challenge of reality in earnest. This will help to avoid extreme views, enhance a stand based on well-thought out principles, and lead to healthy development of international relations.

New politics are needed in this world where there are so many seeds of anxiety. New politics must be founded on new thinking, a new approach and serious attitude toward reality, Gorbachev said.

Nakasone then related his cherished views on East-West cooperation, including in the Asia-Pacific region.

On this subject, Gorbachev remarked: There are portions of Nakasone's interesting views that I agree with, but there are also parts with which I beg to disagree. In any case, we will talk about this topic again later. However, I have to point out here that in Nakasone's scheme for comprehensive cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, there is no mention of the USSR. I will compare Nakasone's views with the approach of the 1986 Vladivostok declaration. The Vladivostok declaration proposed the commencement of actions in the name of building a civilization of the 21st century which shall be in the interest of everyone in the Asia-Pacific region and will impart greater dynamism to economic relations, bilateral and multilateral dialogues, the creation of zones of confidence, and other measures. The existence of contradictions, problems, and complexities is no reason for doing nothing; rather, the contrary is true.

An in-depth discussion on bilateral relations between the USSR and Japan took place during the meeting. Various assessments of history were presented.

Gorbachev presented the following views: In principle, we wish to establish good relations with Japan in all aspects, from political cooperation to personnel exchange. We regret that over the 3 years of perestroyka, when the USSR's relations with many other countries have made significant headway, those with Japan have stayed put and at times, even retrogressed. Either from the political or the economic point of view, good-neighborly relations with Japan should not stay at the present level. Perhaps this is due to a certain extent to the still lingering notion that it is the Soviet Union that is allegedly more interested in an improvement of relations than Japan. If in reality, politicians actually take this standpoint, nothing will happen between Japan and the USSR.

We have absolutely no intention of doing anything detrimental to the interests of the Japanese people. However, it goes without saying that we absolutely cannot accept an approach or demand which amounts to an ultimatum.

By the way, when we talk about Soviet-Japanese relations, I think there is a need to start not from the time of restoration of diplomatic ties but from the results of World War II. If we really want to clear up issues, we have to start from there. Of course, we will also have to take into consideration the influence exerted on them by Japan's relations with other countries.

Having said this, Gorbachev proposed the following points to be included in describing the discussions on Soviet-Japanese relations held within the above framework, with a determination on both sides to pull bilateral relations out of the present deadlock and provide an impulse to normal development. That is, a substantial exchange of views took place. Both sides believe that the development of USSR-Japan relations is in the interest of both countries and contributes to the progress of the world and the improvement of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. Although there are differences of views, we must also think about developing bilateral relations. Based on this, an agreement was reached on sending a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians to Japan and a visit by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to Japan late this year. An exchange of visits at the summit level in the future is also possible.

Later in the meeting, at Nakasone's request, Gorbachev explained the results of the 19th CPSU Conference and the most important issues of perestroyka. Gorbachev asked Nakasone to extend his greetings to Japanese parliamentarians and the public. He hoped that the Japanese public will consider the USSR a good neighbor and understand that the USSR wishes nothing but good things for Japan.

On his part, Nakasone asked Gorbachev on his own behalf and on behalf of Prime Minister Takeshita to tell the Soviet people that they are for developing Japanese-Soviet relations on the basis of good-neighborliness.

Also present at the meeting were Ambassador to the USSR Muto and Minister Togo.

### Japanese Offical Cited

*OW2207165388 Tokyo KYODO in English 1607 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Tokyo, July 22 KYODO—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's response to Japan's territorial claim to four Soviet-held islands is meaningful, a high-level Japanese Foreign Ministry official said Friday.

The official, speaking on condition of anonymity, was commenting on a meeting in Moscow between Gorbachev and former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone.

Nakasone put Japan's position from a historical point of view directly to the top Soviet leader, and Moscow listened to it, the official noted.

The Foreign Ministry takes special note of a dialogue at such a high level as between the Communist Party general secretary of the Soviet Union and the former prime minister of Japan, he said.

However, the official said Gorbachev showed no basic change in the Soviet position toward Japan's call for the return of four islands off Hokkaido.

The official also found nothing new in Gorbachev's reference to a past Soviet offer to return two of the four islands to Japan.

Gorbachev merely stated what has been a process of history and there is no change in Moscow's position that no territorial dispute exists between Japan and the Soviet Union, he said.

It is not necessarily decided whether Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will visit Japan by the end of this year as Gorbachev promised to Nakasone, the official said. Shevardnadze's visit depends on future consultations through diplomatic channels, he said.

Gorbachev, in a two hour 40 minute meeting with Nakasone in the Kremlin on Friday, said that the Soviet Union has shown a feeling of amity and repeatedly offered to return two of the four islands, Shikotan and the Habomai group, to Japan.

Japan is calling for the return of two larger islands, Etorofu and Kunashiri, together with Shikotan and the Habomai group, all of which the Soviet Union seized immediately after World War II.

### Nakasone Interviewed

*LD2207220688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Interview with Yasuhiro Nakasone, former prime minister and deputy in the Japanese Diet, by unidentified interviewer; date and place not given—Nakasone's answers in Japanese fading to Russian translation; live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Interviewer] Nakasone-san, judging from what has been written in the Japanese newspapers, before you left for the USSR you said that the aim of your talks in Moscow was the further strengthening of peace and the deepening of mankind's prosperity proceding from the interests of Japan and the Soviet Union. Today you have spoken with MIkhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Will you share your impressions of that meeting with Soviet viewers?

[Nakasone] I had a meeting today with Mr Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We spoke for 2 hours and 40 minutes. I was touched by Mr Gorbachev's kind invitation and we had a very pleasant conversation. Taking advantage of the opportunity, I conveyed the most sincere sentiments of the Japanese people to the general secretary. The Japanese people wish for friendship and good-neighborliness with your country and your people.

Mr Gorbachev and I talked about many things today, about peace throughout the world, the prosperity of mankind, and the problems of the Asian-Pacific ocean region. The conversation was very useful. I put forward my understanding of these problems and my views about

them. Naturally, I touched upon the whole set of issues linked to the positive development of our bilateral relations. We also touched upon East-West problems. I would like to say that the reasons for the international tension that arose after World War II were, on the one hand, Stalinism in foreign policy, and on the other, the West's opposition to Stalinism, its strategy of creating blocs around the Soviet Union—containment. I believe this needs to be overcome and that it is necessary to exert all one's efforts into being able by the 21st century to give mankind a peaceful planet, a peaceful earth. The general secretary agreed with me in part. We will continue our discussion in the fall when I come to Moscow with Kissinger and Giscard d'Estaing.

[Interviewer] I can remember that a Japanese schoolboy thought up a slogan for the world exhibition in [word indistinct] Expo-70: The world is one. We are now particularly keenly aware that the world really is one, it is interlinked, and therefore the nature of Soviet-Japanese relations does to a significant degree have an influence on the international situation as a whole. What do you think about the outlook for Soviet-Japanese relations?

[Nakasone] The general secretary and I exchanged views on this issue, too. We are faced with an important task: the elimination of unsolved problems, which have been around since World War II, and the conclusion of a peace treaty. The Japanese side believes that the territorial problem is included among the unsolved problems and we had a detailed conversation about this. However, sadly, the discussion did not lead to common agreement. We were, however, united on the fact that there should be an extensive exchange of individuals between Japan and the USSR. While still prime minister of Japan I invited General Secretary Gorbachev to our country. It is Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's turn to visit Japan. Mr Shevardnadze said that he intends to come in December of this year. As for a visit by General Secretary Gorbachev, the answer was as follows: Mr Gorbachev will try to come at the first opportunity. After all, expanding the exchange of individuals and effecting reciprocal visits makes for deeper and better mutual understanding. I told the general secretary that restructuring and glasnost are evoking huge interest in Japan. I expressed my sincere respect to Mr Gorbachev for the fact that in conducting restructuring and glasnost, he is demonstrating state wisdom and boldness. When Mr Gorbachev tells representatives of large-scale business about restructuring and glasnost, in Japan they will no doubt show readiness to set about creating large-scale joint enterprises with your country.

Touching on the territorial issue, I said that at the end of World War II Stalin mistakenly took troops into the islands that are a continuation of Hokkaido. I earnestly entreated the general secretary that the Soviet side should put right this mistake with regard to these small islands, a very small mistake perhaps, but a mistake nonetheless. I understood the general secretary's answer as follows: He believes it essential to respect the political realities that came into being after World War II, so that on this point our views did not coincide.

[Interviewer] You know, you and I have just agreed that the world is one. It seems to me that raising the territorial issue and, particularly persistently, so to speak, raising the territorial issue, brings an element of tension into a relationship and consequently an element of tension into the international situation as a whole. [passage omitted]

## Island Dispute Addressed

*OW2207155288 Tokyo KYODO in English 1532 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 22 KYODO—Former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone said here Friday he strongly urged Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to correct Joseph Stalin's "mistake," a reference to the Soviet occupation of four Japanese islands.

In an interview with Soviet state-run television, Nakasone said Stalin sent out troops at the end of World War II to the islands off northern Japan which are rightfully part of Hokkaido.

Nakasone said he and Gorbachev failed to find common ground over the territorial dispute, adding that the Kremlin leader maintained that postwar realities should be respected.

The former Japanese leader, touching on Gorbachev's perestroyka (restructuring) and glasnost (openness) policies, said the Japanese people are interested in his policy approaches and pay respect for his wisdom and courage.

There will be a major breakthrough in business talks over joint ventures between Japan and the Soviet Union if Gorbachev comes to Japan, he said.

Nakasone, here on a week-long visit since Wednesday, had a two hour 40 minute face-off session with Gorbachev in the Kremlin earlier in the day.

## Authorities Decline Comment on ROK Talks

*OW2307113188 Tokyo KYODO in English 1118 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, July 23 KYODO—Soviet authorities declined comment Saturday on reports from Seoul that South Korean President No Tae-u sent an emissary to Moscow for talks on an improvement of bilateral relations.

"We have not heard of it," an official said when asked to confirm the report.

South Korean sources said No sent a special envoy to Moscow in June for talks with officials on a wide range of topics including establishment of a trade office in each other's country and successful holding of the Seoul Olympics in September.

A group of Soviet personnel, including scholars, was confirmed to have visited Seoul in June.

Moscow pursues a policy of separating politics from economics in expanding ties with South Korea.

Two-way trade between the Soviet Union and South Korea via Japan and Hong Kong amounts to about 1 billion dollars annually, according to Japanese trading sources.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### Meeting on Cambodia Begins in Indonesia

*LD2507090688 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] Jakarta July 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrov reports:

The so-called informal meeting on Kampuchea, which could become yet another step towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, opened today at the Presidential Palace of Bogor, 60 kilometres south of Jakarta.

The meeting will be held in two stages, in accordance with agreement reached between the foreign ministers of Vietnam and Indonesia in Ho Chi Minh [City] last year. Opinions on internal matters are to be exchanged by the sides at the first stage. International aspects of the problem are to be discussed by the states concerned—Vietnam, Laos, Indonesia and other ASEAN-member countries, together with the Kampuchean side, at the second stage of the informal meeting.

### 'Observer' Views Talks

*BK2307152388 Moscow in Vietnamese to Vietnam 1000 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Dear friends: Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, recently received at the Kremlin Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, who is now vacationing in the Soviet Union. Comrade Nguyen Van Linh affirmed that the SRV this year decided to withdraw one-half of its volunteer troops and their command from Cambodia; that the remaining units will be withdrawn by late 1989 or early 1990; and that the schedule for the troop pullout will be updated if an early solution is achieved.

The two leaders pointed out the importance of the informal meeting on the Cambodian issue now being prepared for in Indonesia. They also expressed the hope that this meeting would contribute to improving the political atmosphere in Southeast Asia.

Our radio observer (Kuzin) has this to say:

It has been reported that the meeting on the Cambodian issue in the Indonesian city of Bogor will be held from 25 to 27 July. This meeting is still important, despite the fact that it is an informal one and that it has also been referred to as a cocktail party.

The preparatory work for this meeting is the result of all-out efforts by those who are concerned about a political solution to the Cambodian issue. It was the peace-loving policies of the Indochinese countries, the announcement of the schedule for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia, and the national reconciliation policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] which created the premise for this meeting.

The meetings between PRK leader Hun Sen and Sihanouk, former president of the tripartite Khmer coalition in exile, were held in compliance with the political trend. The Vietnamese and Indonesian foreign services have already outlined specific formalities for the meeting. Also, the Vietnamese-Indonesian communique signed in Ho Chi Minh City in July 1987 has affirmed that this meeting will include two stages. First, negotiations will be held among representatives of the four Cambodian factions. This will be the first time in the history of the Cambodian conflict that such negotiations have been held. Later, representatives of the other countries concerned will participate.

The cocktail party in Bogor will open prospects for Southeast Asia to find a way out of the conflict in Cambodia. However, the important thing—like the case of the political solution to the Afghan issue—is that this opportunity should not be missed. The Geneva agreement on Afghanistan also began from fragile political talks and negotiations through intermediaries. Obviously, the bridge leading to Cambodia's peaceful future—one to be built by the parties participating in the Bogor meeting—is also fragile and weak.

The schemes of the recent ASEAN foreign ministerial conference in Bangkok to rearrange the sequence of meetings that had earlier been agreed upon seemed to threaten the materialization of this meeting. According to the views of some observers, the recent resignation of Sihanouk as president of the tripartite coalition, which resulted in his son attending the Bogor meeting in his place, has also caused a certain mystery.

Anyway, prior to the Bogor meeting, it is necessary to support all the present efforts aimed at achieving a political solution to the Cambodian issue. The joint statement of the Soviet and Vietnamese leaders is actually designed to serve this purpose.

### Hun Sen Says Situation 'Ripe' for Settlement

*LD2507070588 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] Jakarta July 25 TASS—Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea Hun Sen has said here that now "the situation is ripe for settlement of the Kampuchean problem, and noted a possibility of holding the third round of negotiations with Norodom Sihanouk, now in Jakarta as guest of Indonesia's President Suharto. [quotation marks as received]

In an interview to the newspaper JAKARTA POST, Hun Sen, who is in Indonesia to attend "an informal meeting" on political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, has said that he is optimistic about prospects of settlement of the problem. "But we shall not be able to have success in the settlement, if there are no reciprocal efforts from the other side", he said.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea underlined the need for joint efforts of all parties in the quest for political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. To put an end to war, one cannot use military all the time, said Hun Sen.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea firmly declared against attempts to exert pressure upon the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

## Near East & South Asia

### Ziaul Haq Says Afghan Troop Withdrawal Stopped

*OW2307151688 Beijing XINHUA in English 1443 GMT 23 Jul 88*

["USSR Stops Troop Withdrawal From Afghanistan"—XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, July 23 (XINHUA)—Pakistan President Ziaul Haq said today that the Soviet Union had stopped pulling its troops from Afghanistan and has brought in 10,000 reinforcements.

According to reports from Islamabad, General Ziaul Haq told reporters at his Presidential Palace in Rawalpindi that the troops had been sent to defend Kabul.

He said he had no independent confirmation, but told reporters that the information had come from the United Nations, adding that Pakistan did not know whether the news was true.

### Akhromeyev Denies Charge

*LD2307184888 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 23 July 88*

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is going on in keeping with the Geneva accords, a first deputy defence minister of the Soviet Union told TASS today.

Marshall Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, described claims in the West that the Soviet Union has suspended the withdrawal and, moreover, brought in 10,000 troops there as a "sheer lie."

The claims, which Akhromeyev categorically refuted, were made in reports by AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE and REUTER news agencies which cited Pakistan President Ziaul Haq's statement at a news conference in Rawalpindi.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was started more than two months ago, as stipulated by the Geneva accords on political settlement of the situation concerning Afghanistan.

Having fulfilled their internationalist duty of assisting the Afghan people at the request of its legitimate government, Soviet troops are returning home.

The withdrawal schedule is strictly observed. There is already no Soviet soldier in 18 Afghan provinces.

More than 35,000 soldiers out of the 115 thousand-strong Soviet contingent have returned home.

What about other countries which affixed their signatures to these historic documents? Unfortunately, it cannot be said that they conduct themselves in the same consistent way as the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. The USA, for example, even does not conceal that it will continue rendering support to armed opposition in future as well. The U.S. support to the forces of resistance will remain firm, U.S. State Department spokeswoman Phillis Oakley said recently. The USA rendered assistance in the past, renders it now and will continue to render assistance to the forces of resistance, which they need. Indeed, the armed opposition receives advanced American weapons, including multibarreled machine guns, recoilless guns and ground-to-ground missiles with enhanced range.

As for Pakistan, rebel detachments are being formed and armed at the training centres of armed opposition on the territory of that country, who are then moved to Afghanistan. The terrorists work their way to provincial and district cities and pound them with U.S.-supplied rockets. As a result, some 130 rockets were fired in the past three weeks at Kabul alone, killing around 80 people and wounding more than 100. There is information indicating that Islamabad paid four million Afghanis to the

leaders of a number of armed groups in Nangarhar Province. This means that the Pakistani side not only renders assistance in moving the opposition forces to Afghan territory but also encourages extremists to new terrorist acts.

Not only Pakistan is violating the provisions of the Geneva accords, but the president of this country, if one is to believe the reports of Western news agencies, is now spreading false information. It is hard to tell for what purpose Ziaul Haq needed this fabrication. One thing is clear—this act cannot cast aspersions on the Soviet side, which consistently fulfills its obligations under the Geneva accords.

### Foreign Ministry Statement

*LD2407154888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; a "statement" by a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry]

[Text] Ziaul Haq, president of Pakistan, speaking at a news conference in Rawalpindi on 23 July, made a statement that the Soviet Union had allegedly stopped the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan and, moreover, had even transferred another 10,000 soldiers to Kabul. The statement made by the President of Pakistan cannot be regarded as anything other than irresponsible and provocative in character. It totally contradicts reality. The Soviet Union is adhering precisely to the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan and honestly fulfilling the obligations it has undertaken. The withdrawal of the limited contingent from Afghanistan is being implemented in strict accordance with the agreed schedule, and the UN observers who are on the spot have no complaints on this account. The Soviet Union has not stopped the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan and, moreover, has not introduced any new units there.

The aim of statements of this kind is obvious. They are calclated to mislead the world public, who are following with hope the process of the Afghan settlement which is now in progress; to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet Union's intentions with regard to fulfilling the Geneva agreements; and at the same time to try to distract attention from the crude violations of the provisions of these agreements by Pakistan itself, and from its unceasing interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Such slanderous statements run counter to the interests of an early normalization of the situation in Afghanistan and in the region and undermine the cause of an all-embracing resolution of the Afghan problem.

### Jalalabad, Kabul Rocket Attacks Noted 23 Jul

*LD2307161688 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 23 TASS—The Afghan capital came under rocket fire again today. In the afternoon four rockets exploded in various districts of the city. There have been no reports of casualties or destruction so far. According to BAKHTAR news agency, extremists shelled Jalalabad yesterday night, killing four people, including a woman and a child, and wounding nine others.

### Further Attack on Kabul

*LD2407133888 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Kabul July 24 TASS—A new barbaric crime was committed by Afghan extremists against Kabul's population. Terrorists fired 10 rocket projectiles into the capital today at noon when several hundred thousand citizens were at mosques where there were devine services on the occasion of the Moslem holiday 'Id al-Adha. Projectiles fell in densely-populated areas, some of them near mosques. One projectile exploded in a dwelling house. As a result, four people were killed. 10 Kabul residents, including four children and one woman, fell victims of the terrorist attack. 18 citizens were wounded, among them eight children.

### Bovin Discusses 'Uncertain' Afghan Situation

*LD2407180088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Aleskandr Bovin]

[Excerpts] Hello, comrades! The sensation of the week, without doubt, has been Iran's official recognition of Security Council Resolution 598 on a cease-fire. [passage omitted]

This ray of light in the Middle East can be seen as a manifestation of one of the main tendencies in the development of international relations in our times; that is, military, strong-arm methods of resolving contentious political problems are in general being discredited more and more, and political methods are coming to the fore—negotiations, the difficult search for agreement.

A spur to the development of events in this direction was provided by the turn of events in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which is under way, and Kabul's policy of national reconciliation. True, the situation in the country, in Afghanistan, still remains uncertain and unstable, and the factions, the groups of implacable elements from the Peshawar Seven are continuing the armed struggle. But at the same time voices can be heard in favor of a compromise. In particular, the current president of the Seven, Sayyed Hamid Gaylani, spoke of this recently, and the leader of the so-called Liberation Front, Mujaddedi Sebghatullah, also spoke of this. They supported Cordovez' idea of convening a grand assembly for the formation of a government. All in all, there are some changes under way, albeit very slow ones. Interestingly, reports have appeared that the leaders of the Seven are apparently ready even now to begin talks with us on our prisoners. It's true, I haven't been

able to check to what extent this information is serious. And this transfer of the Afghan problem to a new course has generated movement in other sore points of world politics, as we have already seen. [passage omitted]

Well, as you can see, comrades, in various places, by various methods, in various ways, certain changes are taking shape. Common sense is gradually carving itself a path, and this is without doubt fostered by the general improvement in the international situation which, in its turn, depends on the smoothing-over in Soviet-U.S. relations, of which we are all witnesses. Well, how will things go on from here? To a substantial extent, this depends on how the next U.S. president handles things.

**Pakistan Continuing Aid, 'Stealing' Uranium Ore**
*LD2107130988 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—Large batches of arms are continuing to be sent to Afghanistan from Pakistan where Afghan counter-revolutionaries are also being trained in handling new kinds of heavy weapons at practice ranges near Islamabad, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman charged today.

Vadim Perfiliyev, deputy chief of the Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing also that the Pakistani military have been helping Afghan armed opposition groups to plan and prepare military activities and in some cases even instructed them to carry out this or that operation.

He said groups of Pakistani servicemen have been seen, in particular, in Zabol and Qandahar Provinces and in Arghandab district.

Foreign advisers have been joining armed opposition groups from Pakistani territory, the spokesman added.

He said foreign specialists have discovered uranium-containing ore in Darzab District, Jowzjan Province, and are stealing it in special packaging from Afghanistan to Pakistan.

Perfiliyev said the haulage of uranium ore to Pakistan is noteworthy particularly in connection with Islamabad's nuclear weapons ambitions.

He said clashes between armed groups from the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" in the area of Azam Warsak in Pakistani territory have left 50 people killed and another 65 wounded on both sides.

**Yakunin Appointed Ambassador to Pakistan**
*LD2407164588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1555 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Viktor Yakunin USSR ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov from the responsibilities of USSR ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in connection with his transfer to other work.

Viktor Yakunin was born in 1931. He has been engaged in diplomatic work since 1977. He has occupied a number of senior posts in the apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and abroad. During 1977-1984 he was USSR minister counselor in the Republic of India. From 1987 to the present time he was deputy head of, and head of a department of, the directorate for the countries of southern Asia.

**Vorontsov, Iranian Leaders Meet 20-22 Jul**
*LD2207124388 Moscow TASS in English 1226 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 22 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent has been told in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, stayed in Tehran on July 20-22. He was received by President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of the Islamic Republic of Iran, by Minister of Foreign Affairs 'Ali Akbar Velayati, and had businesslike talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Muhammad Javad Larijani.

Much attention during the talks was devoted to the new development of events as regards the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq. The Iranian side confirmed that it, as had already been announced, officially recognised Resolution 598 of the United Nations Security Council without any conditions and on the strength of it was ready for a ceasefire at an early date.

The Soviet side pointed out, for its part, that this step of Iran was welcomed in the Soviet Union. A similar step had been made earlier by Iraq. Hope was expressed that the parties to the protracted and chronic conflict would now find ways for the restoration of peace as soon as possible, which would have the most positive effect on the overall situation in the region and, following the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, would become yet another example that the tangles of reigonal conflicts could be undone.

Both sides emphasized the importance of the U.N. secretary-general's mission for the speediest implementation of Resolution 598. Iranian representatives pointed out their intention fully to assist the U.N secretary-general in the accomplishment of the tasks facing him.

During the discussion of matters concerning the situation in the Persian Gulf, an opinion was expressed that U.S. huge military presence remained the main destabilising factor in the area.

Yuliy Vorontsov stressed that the current explosive situation in the Persian Gulf could be normalised only on the basis of withdrawal of foreign navies from there and the formation of a U.N. naval force.

The Iranian side expressed gratitude for the stand taken by the Soviet Union in connection with the recent crash of the Iranian civilian airliner which had been shot down in the Persian Gulf by a missile fired by a U.S. warship.

Much attention during the meetings and talks in Tehran was given to the development of events around Afghanistan in the conditions of the ongoing withdrawal of Soviet troops. The Soviet side pointed out, in particular, that Iran might make its contribution to the cause of normalising the situation in Afghanistan. It was agreed that the sides would continue to discuss the issue constructively. The Soviet side also expressed the hope that Iran would promote the return of Soviet servicemen, who are kept by the Afghan armed opposition, to the Soviet Union. The Iranian side promised to render assistance in this respect.

The sides expressed mutual interest in the development of goodneighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and Iran, a continuation of regular political contacts and their further intensification, and expansion of mutually beneficial trade-and-economic cooperation on a long-term basis, for which there are necessary objective conditions.

The Iranian side showed a lively interest in the decisions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU. Yuliy Vorontsov informed the Iranian side of the work being done to implement the decisions of the party conference which had endorsed the course towards democratisation of all aspects of the life of Soviet society, a reform of the political system, and consistent carrying out of radical transformations in the Soviet economy.

### Offers To Host Peace Talks

*OW2307121788 Tokyo KYODO in English 1156 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] Tehran, July 23 KYODO—Moscow has offered to host direct talks between Iran and Iraq to end their eight-year-long war in a Moslem residential area in the Soviet Union, an Iranian newspaper reported Saturday.

The newspaper said the proposal was put forward by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov in his talks with Iranian Government officials in Tehran.

Vorontsov visited the Iranian capital from Wednesday through Friday following a trip to Baghdad.

Iraq apparently proposed direct talks with Iran to end the war, and the Soviet Union offered its good offices in an apparent move to strengthen its political influence over Iraq.

Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i, however, rejected direct negotiations with Iraq and called for United Nations mediation to bring about a ceasefire.

### Iraqi Announcement of Troop Withdrawal Cited

*LD2407053588 Moscow TASS in English 0524 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Baghdad July 24 TASS—An Iraqi official military spokesman has told the INA news agency that units of the Third Corps of the Iraqi Army were withdrawn in the afternoon on Saturday from Iranian territory which had been captured during the latest operations in the southern sector of the front.

Latif Jasim, Iraqi minister of information and culture, told INA that his country had no claims to Iranian territory. He emphasized that the purpose of the present operations by the Iraqi Army was to free Iraqi lands and to seize as many prisoners of war as possible to facilitate the task of establishing comprehensive and complete peace.

The high command of Iraq reported that fighting continued in the northern and southern sectors of the front over the past 24 hours. Aircraft and helicopters of the Iraqi Air Force flew 382 combat missions.

Nicosia July 24 TASS—Iraqi mechanized divisions with massive air and artillery support succeeded in advancing 65 km deep into Iranian territory on Saturday, the Iranian news agency IRNA reported. Iranian troops stopped the enemy advance approximately 24 km east of Ahvaz, the administrative centre of the Iranian Province of Khuzestan.

Fierce fighting is going on in the area of the towns of Hamid, Jofeyr and Kushk to the west of Ahvaz as well as on the northern outskirts of the Iranian port city of Khorramshahr.

Iranian television reported that Iranian troops had succeeded in repulsing the advance of Iraqi troops and in rolling them back. Aircraft of the Iranian Air Force flew 51 combat missions in the southern and central sectors of the front on Saturday, Tehran Radio reported.

### Support for Sudanese Rebels Reportedly Denied

*JN2207152288 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1415 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Khartoum, 22 Jul (SUNA)—The Soviet Union has denied the accusations of Defense Minister 'Abd al-Majid Hamid Khalil in which he accused the Soviet Union of supporting the rebellion movement.

The newspaper AL-USBU', which reported the denial in today's issue, quoted Soviet sources in Moscow. The sources said that the Soviet Union has no ambitious desires that may harm Sudanese-Soviet relations.

It is recalled that in statements made before the Constituent Assembly, the defense minister affirmed that the Soviet Union is supporting and backing the rebel John Garang's movement.

## East Europe

### Ambassador to Hungary Holds News Conference

*LD1507194688 Budapest MTI in English 1531 GMT 15 Jul 88*

[Text] Budapest, July 15 (MTI)—On Friday Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, held a press conference in the Budapest House of Soviet Culture and Science. The ambassador discussed first of all the achievements of the 19th CPSU National Conference which he had attended as a delegate.

The conference focussed its attention on defining the role of the party and renewing its work style and methods radically. Some changes are to be introduced this year while the proposals for amending the CPSU rules are to be discussed in the 28th CPSU Congress.

The investment with full powers of the local soviets is a crucial point in the reform of the society's political system. The soviets will have a greater responsibility for, and autonomy in, the development of the regions falling within their competence.

The decision that the first secretary of the party committee would be nominated to the post of the chairman of the local soviet aroused keen interest. On this decision Boris Stukalin said:

This double function is aimed at reinforcing the work of the soviets by the prestige of the party and making it possible for the organs of people's representation to have a say in the work of the party committees. The head of the party committee has to be elected to the chairman's post in a secret ballot.

The conference paid particular attention to the relationship between the nationalities. The contributors, calling attention to the still existing shortcomings, advocated the consistent assertion of the principle of social justice in the relationship between the nationalities.

The ambassador reconfirmed that a kind of people's front organization was founded in Estonia, which is similar in its activity to the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front. Boris Stukalin recalled that over the recent period thousands of similar informal social and mass organizations have been founded with the aim of supporting perestroyka, and their activity was also discussed in the party conference. The delegates agreed with the proposal of General Secretary Gorbachev to create a uniform framework for these initiatives.

### PZPR Leadership Hails Gorbachev Visit Results

*PM2207142388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Cooperation Developing Dynamically"]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jul—The official friendly visit to Poland by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the talks between the two party leaders and the CPSU and PZPR delegations have given new dynamism to the development of fraternal friendship between the Soviet and Polish peoples and important substance to the cooperation between the two countries as partners and allies. This is emphasized in the report on the PZPR Central Committee Politburo session, which discussed the course and results of the Soviet leader's visit to Poland.

Broad recognition of the restructuring of domestic policy and the new thinking in the international arena implemented by the CPSU under the leadership of M.S. Gorbachev, and his personal directness, respect, and liking for the Polish people was all reflected in the cordial reception given to the Soviet leader by the Polish people throughout his visit to Poland. The visit and the talks between the leaders of the two countries' parties confirmed that the CPSU and the PZPR are linked by their ideological and political unity, their common philosophy of building a modern socialist society, and their bold, innovative search for the most correct paths of development.

The radical restructuring of all aspects of life in the Soviet Union, which was begun at the initiative of the CPSU, is being conducted under its leadership, and is connected with the name of M.S. Gorbachev, has won broad sympathy, recognition, and support from the PZPR and the broad masses of the Polish population. In the opinion of Poles, the restructuring process in the USSR is a historic transformation based on the revival of Leninist principles of socialism and the liberation of the people's creative activeness. These factors give new impetus to contemporary Marxist thought and also to the political practice of the CPSU and the Soviet state by returning innovative features and revolutionary scope to them. The restructuring process in the Soviet Union, the process of socialist renewal in Poland, and the changes in different forms and to different degrees in many socialist countries are mutually supportive. The main, general aim is to make maximum use of socialism's enormous potential for the good of the working people, to improve the conditions in which they live, and to develop the socialist countries.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo stressed that the current restructuring of economic mechanisms in the Soviet Union and the economic reform in Poland coincide in their essentials and their aims and create real possibilities for moving to a qualitatively new stage and level of bilateral economic relations. The use of this potential requires the joint realization of new, bold, modern methods of cooperation answering the demands of the present and the challenge of the future. An important step in deepening economic integration between the two countries is the new concept of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and Poland for a period of 15-20 years which determines its strategic directions.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit and its results signify a new stage in the development of Soviet-Polish relations of friendship and cooperation. The accords reached define new areas and forms of cooperation and influence the enrichment of its content, which will lead to the highest level of Soviet-Polish relations in all spheres in history.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has fully approved the content and results of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and instructed the relevant bodies to implement the accords reached.

The disarmament proposals put forward by the Soviet leader in Warsaw, which open up the possibility of gradually strengthening security and trust on the European Continent in order to make Europe our "common home," are fully approved of by the Polish public and have met with a broad response throughout the world.

The PZPR Central Commitee Politburo was acquainted with the course and results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee conference. This was an important event in international life which has drawn the attention of the public in socialist countries and the rest of the world community. It reaffirmed the allied countries' will to continue and deepen the policy of dialogue, detente, disarmament, and development of mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe and throughout the world, and to ensure the irreversibility of the positive processes taking place in international relations. The documents approved at the conference contain a constructive program of real measures in these spheres, primarily on the European Continent. The basis for developing close cooperation and collaboration between the fraternal parties with consideration for the socioeconomic changes taking place in their countries was underlined during the conference and, in particular, during the meeting between the heads of the Warsaw Pact states' delegations.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has approved the results of the conference and the actions of the Polish delegation there and instructed the relevant departments and institutions to fully implement the conclusions and tasks stemming from it.

## Polish Envoy Makes National Day Address

*LD2207191188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; address by Wlodzimierz Natorf, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in the USSR, on Poland's national day—recorded in Russian]

[Text] Dear Soviet friends: A few days ago, that is, almost on the eve of our national holiday, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was paying a friendly visit to Poland. I personally witnessed that visit; it was a historic event which made a lasting impression on me. In the person of Comrade Gorbachev, the working people, intelligentsia, peasants, and youth of Poland warmly and cordially welcomed the leader of a country to which we are connected by the bonds of history, the unity of our assessments of the modern world, and the fact that we are realizing common aims.

I have recalled the bonds of history. This year, the Polish people will be celebrating the 70th anniversary of their independence. This great event in our life is directly associated with the victory of the October Revolution. In July 1944, the Red Army and the Wojsko Polskie [Polish Army], which fought side by side with it, liberated the first piece of Polish soil. It was then that the manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation was promulgated, and 22 July became our national holiday.

In the space of 44 years, we have created a socialist state. We have brought up a generation of active builders of our society. Unfortunately, we have also made mistakes, from which we are today endeavoring to draw the appropriate conclusions. Of late, we have been implementing economic reform. We have been giving independence to enterprises and freeing the initiative of our citizens. We are continuing to introduce sociopolitical changes. We are seeking Polish forms of socialist pluralism, taking into account the traditions, experience, and aspirations of our society.

Dear comrades, for 44 years now, we have been united with the Soviet Union by political, economic, and cultural contacts. Yet never before have they been so close and cordial, or so much those of partners, as they are now. Never before have they been so much a part of the life of the whole nation. We are conscious of the fact that the friendship and cooperation of our peoples is also a path toward the strengthening of peace and the building of a common European home. Part of our contribution to that home is the plan to reduce armaments and enhance trust in Europe, known as the Jaruszelski Plan.

Allow me to conclude my talk by conveying to you all the cordial greetings of fraternal Poland. We Poles admire the achievements of the Soviet people, the real scope of restructuring, and the boldness of the ideas expressed in

the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. I sincerely wish you further successes in carrying out these noble tasks. Thank you for your attention.

## Briefs

### Baltic Experiment With GDR

Berlin July 24 TASS—Soviet and GDR oceanologists carried out a joint scientific experiment Invex-88 in the Baltic. Over 10 days specialists of the two countries working aboard a research ship carried out various investigations and experiments which largely confirmed correctness of a model of the Baltic physical map compiled by them earlier. They were interested, above all, in finding out the nature of the so-called inertial waves caused by currents, pressure, a change in water temperatures, as well as force and direction of wind. As a result of the experiment carried out over an area of 200 square miles near the island of Rugen and Hiddensee, GDR scientists alone got some 50,000 data. Hans-Ulrich Lass, head of the expedition on the GDR side and staff member of the Oceanological Institute of the republic's Academy of Sciences, noted that their generalization would give a chance to compile a more exact picture of forming of biomass at some sections of the shelf and to improve methods of forecasting fish catches. [Text] [*LD2407234688 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 24 Jul 88*]

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Panamanian Foreign Minister Scores U.S. Policy

*LD2207204588 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Panama City July 22 TASS—"The Panamanian leadership is most seriously concerned over the dangerous developments that Panama's relations with the United States Administration have assumed of late. These relations have actually reached a most profound crisis and might have unpredictable consequences", said Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Eduardo Ritter.

"It is quite apparent that the ideas of peace, security, progress, cooperation and disarmament for the survival of humanity have assumed priority in international affairs", he said in an interview to TASS correspondent Eldar Abdullayev. "Against this background Washington's policy in the Central American region is seen as irresponsible and adventuristic. For over five months now Washington has been regarding former President Del Valle as the head of the Panamanian state. Del Valle is now staying in Miami and does not represent anyone."

"The U.S. continues interfering in internal affairs of the Republic."

"The Panamanian Government", the minister said, "thinks the United States might resort to an armed aggression against Panama, as its attempts to compel Panama to abandon the road of the struggle for independence and restoration of national sovereignty prove to be futile. Under the 1977 Torrijos-Carter agreements, the United States must dismantle its military bases in the Panama Canal Zone by the year 2000. The White House views these agreements as the main obstacle to the implementation of its neoglobalist military-political strategy and interventionist policy in Central America and in the continent as a whole. Events attesting to the United States continued attempts to ensure that fear, instability and hysteria reign in Panama, happen virtually every day. For instance, several days ago a bomber of the U.S. Airforce 'lost' a missile in the area of the city of Gamboa. It is only by a lucky chance that there has been no loss of life. The headquarters of the United States South Command in the Panama Canal Zone has circulated one more falsehood that 'unidentified' persons got into the territory of the Howard Air Force Base and that a shootout took place there. It will not be amiss to recall the events of April of this year when it was asserted that Cuban 'commandos' had allegedly appeared in Panama."

"The Panamanian leadership declares consistently for the restoration of normal relations with the USA", the minister said. "But this should be done only on the basis of equality, justice, respect for the right to sovereignty, independence and self-determination, for Panama's right to decide its destiny without outside interference. We intend to continue in this spirit vigorous activity in the framework of the United Nations Organisation, the Organisation of American States, the Nonaligned Movement and the Contadora process for the purpose of a peaceful settlement of the situation in Central America." Admitting that Panama should overcome traditional economic dependence on the USA, should invigorate business activity in the Republic, the minister said that he sees the way out of the situation in the widening of Panama's ties with Latin American countries, with countries of Western Europe, with Japan, with Asian and African countries.

### Panamanian 'Indignation' Over U.S. Rocket Mishap

*LD2107220588 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT 21 Jul 88*

[Text] Panama City July 21 TASS—As only good luck would have it, people of Gamboa, Panama, have not been killed by a live rocket which fell to the ground from a flying U.S. fighter bomber A-37. Had it gone off, it would have been difficult even to imagine the proportions of a catastrophe: depots of ammunition and fuel are located near the village on the Panama Canal shore.

The dangerous incident has been the cause of indignation and concern in the country. The local mass media underline that the lucky outcome does not make less acute the problem involved in the irresponsible and

unceremonious behaviour in Panama of units of the Southern Command of the U.S. Armed Forces, stationed in the zone. It is not for the first time that they grossly violate laws of that country, imperilling Panamanian lives. Several residents of near-by villages were killed or wounded in the explosion of an anti-tank mine, which was left near the American test range, only one month and a half ago.

Panamanians' concern and anxiety over the Gamboa incident was heightened by the report of the governmental news agency PANAMPRESS that the United States is most probably preparing to conduct on Panama's territory "combat operations that might have unpredictable consequences". This fear stems from the fact that 300 units of combat materiel were moved additionally to American military bases in the Canal Zone in the past few days, which was also reaffirmed by representatives of the Southern Command. The number of American servicemen at these bases is known to exceed 10,000.

**Nicaraguan President Views Guatamala Accords**
*LD2407201888 Moscow TASS in English 2003 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] San Jose July 24 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega confirmed readiness of his government to fulfil strictly the Guatemalan agreements aimed at establishing a lasting peace in Central America. The Nicaraguan leader pointed out in an interview with the Costa Rican magazine "SEMANARIO UNIVERSIDAD" that, despite the fact that the Nicaraguan Government had displayed flexibility and made great concessions than any other side, ever new and unacceptable demands are put forth to the Republic under Washington's pressure. He said that this U.S. strategy was aimed at thwarting the Guatemalan understandings, shifting the blame for this on to Nicaragua and at unleashing war against the Republic with increased force.

The Nicaraguan leader censured actions by Richard Melton, the former U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, who, together with other staff members of the U.S. Embassy in Managua, tried to prod the country's opposition parties for anti-government actions.

**Contra Leadership Changes Bode Ill for Talks**
*PM2107144188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[A. Cherepanov "International Commentary": "Gamble on Force"]

[Text] A 3-day conference of the so-called "Nicaraguan resistance" assembly has come to a close in Santo Domingo, capital of the Dominican Republic.

A total of 54 representatives of contra forces discussed questions of stepping up the struggle against the Sandinist government of Nicaragua and the renewal of military aid from the United States.

According to news agencies, the leaders of the counterrevolution spoke with delight of the bill submitted by Republican Senator Robert Dole to give $47 million in aid to the contras, almost half of it to be used for military purposes.

A 7-man "Nicaraguan Resistance" Directorate was elected in Santo Domingo. E. Bermudez, a former colonel in Somoza's guard, personal friend of the dictator, and now one of the most reactionary contra leaders, was elected to the directorate for the first time. He was Somoza's representative and proxy in Washington with the U.S. Government. Three of his closest associates—including U. Diego, one of the leaders of the Indian Misquito tribe living on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua,—were also elected to the directorate, which is the ruling counterrevolutionary clique. This means that circles opposed to negotiating with the Sandinists and in favor of overthrowing the government by military means have gained the upper hand in the contra leadership. One U.S. Congress expert, K. Rossiter [name as published], remarked: "The aim of Bermudez has always been to overthrow the Sandinists by military means. His election to the directorate leaves no chance at all of resuming talks" between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras.

"On Tuesday the State Department applauded the new 'Nicaraguan resistance' leadership headed by the conservative military commander Enrique Bermudez," UPI reported. "State Department spokesman P. Oakley said that the new contra leaders 'agree that the Sandinists are unlikely to make a move toward greater democracy without constantly increasing pressure from the United States...'"

According to reports from news agencies, this contra conference should not be regarded as a separate fact in isolation from the general context of the events of recent weeks. On the contrary: It is very clearly part of a new spiral in the anti-Nicaragua campaign launched by the White House.

The recent visit to countries in the region by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz was intended to undermine last year's Guatemala accords on a peaceful settlement of the Central American problem. Not only did Shultz refuse to meet Nicaraguan representatives, he also did his utmost to incline the Central American states in favor of forming a united anti-Sandinist front with the United States and thereby reject the path of settling the conflict through negotiation.

On 1 August, on the threshold of the conference between all Central American state leaders, the U.S. secretary of state will again meet with foreign ministers from the region's countries—again without the presence of a Nicaraguan representative.

There is one interesting detail, incidentally. On the eve of G. Shultz' visit the U.S. Defense Department published a "report on military supplies from Soviet bloc countries" to Nicaragua. Again U.S. politicians' favorite subject of "Soviet expansionism" in Central America and the "threat to American interests" posed by the Sandinists was clearly visible in this document. This meant that the U.S. secretary of state set off on his trip with a solid propaganda backup.

In parallel with the attempt to isolate Nicaragua from other countries in the region, the process of White House lobbying in Congress has also gathered momentum. Congress is now discussing the question of new military aid for the contras. The expulsion of the U.S. ambassador and seven other members of the embassy from Managua has been used by contra supporters on Capitol Hill in their own way. It seems that the U.S. Administration is trying to use the Nicaraguan Government's recent decisive measures to stop attacks by counterrevolutionary forces as grounds for trying to secure the allocation of new military aid for the contras, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES. For the first time since 23 March, when the Sandinist government signed a provisional cease-fire agreement with the contras, the newspaper wrote, there are signs that Congress will consider the question of giving the contras military aid. This means that the war in Nicaragua could flare up again with new force....

July 19 saw the 9th anniversary of the overthrow of the antipopular Somoza clique and the assumption of power by the Sandinists in Nicaragua. For the Nicaraguan people these have been difficult years of anxiety, hope, and struggle for their rights, their freedom, and their independence. And today, as yesterday, we bitterly have to admit that the long-suffering people of Nicaragua—a people worthy of a better fate—have once again greeted their national day in an atmosphere of threats and intimidation from the United States.

**Commentary Views Expulsion of Nicaraguan Envoy**
*PA2407004588 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Vadim Bukharov commentary on expulsion of Nicaraguan Ambassador Carlos Tunnerman from the United States]

[Text] I want to remind you that Carlos Tunnerman and seven other Nicaraguan diplomats were recently forced to leave Washington after being expelled by the U.S. Administration. The authorities in Washington took this step after Nicaragua declared U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Richard Melton and seven of his aides persona non grata. The U.S. diplomats were caught in a destabilization campaign aimed at overthrowing the Nicaraguan Government.

The U.S. authorities have not accused the Nicaraguan diplomats of anything, and their expulsion from the country has not been argued in any way. In addition, Washington has refused to grant Tunnerman a visa to participate in the OAS, where he represents Nicaragua.

This step by the U.S. authorities is a violation of the OAS bylaws, and according to PRENSA LATINA, the Nicaraguan Government plans to raise this issue at the OAS Permanent Council.

It is also evident that Washington plans to increase military pressure on Managua with the help of the contras. A few days ago in Santo Domingo, the so-called Nicaraguan Resistance Directorate was elected. The victory went to the extremist contra group headed by former Somoza National Guard Colonel Enrique Bermudez, who rejects the idea of talks with the Sandinist government. Naturally, the rise to power of the group headed by former Colonel Bermudez would be impossible without Washington's backing.

The Reagan administration also expressed its intentions to try to persuade Congress to resume aid to the contras. Washington's position is opposed to that of Nicaragua, which advocates a political solution to the conflict. On 19 July, at a rally held to commemorate the 9th anniversary of the Sandinist revolution, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega announced the extension of the cease-fire until 31 August. President Ortega urged Washington to resume the dialogue to normalize relations between the two countries. Will the White House listen to this appeal?

## Political & Social

### Further on Unrest in Armenia, Azerbaijan Areas

#### NKAO Official Interviewed

*NC2107182088 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Jul 88*

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Jul (ARMENPRES)—SOVETAKAN KARABAKH daily—During a roundtable discussion, Stepanakert Oblast television hosted representatives to the 19th all-union conference, including Genrikh Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] party committee. Maksim Ovannesyan, correspondent of the SOVETAKAN KARABAKH newspaper, and renowned Azerbaijani cultural figure Zhanna Balstyan were among those who participated in the interview. Here are excerpts of the answers G. Pogosyan gave to some of the questions:

[Unidentified correspondent] One cannot ignore the fact that the NKAO constitutes one of the Soviet Union's "hotbeds" and is at the center of the world's attention. In view of this, how could the [All-Union] conference have discussed this issue?

[Pogosyan] If you are asking why this issue was not reflected in M.S. Gorbachev's political report, I will try to answer your question. I asked M.S. Gorbachev the same question during my meeting with him. His answer implied that if the NKAO issue had been mentioned in the political report, the tone would have been emotional, and that emotions should not be mixed with politics. It was because of this that our territorial problems were not discussed during the conference. It was not because one cannot speak about the NKAO issue. Needless to say, at the time that the conference was taking place, workers were on strike. In your opinion, would that have had a (?positive) effect on the proceedings in the conference hall?

[Correspondent] Can you comment on why you were not given the floor during the conference?

[Pogosyan] Some 271 people had asked to address the conference. Out of this number, only 67 spoke. The major part of the conference was devoted to so-called unscheduled speeches. For example, Comrade Yeltsin spoke. Then Comrade Ligachev responded, as did our comrades from Moscow and Sverdlovsk. Attention was probably paid to the fact that a series of meetings had been planned between our high-ranking party and state leaders. Possibly all these factors will, to a certain extent, shed some light on why neither I nor our Amalya Agadzhanyan, our other representative, spoke.

[Correspondent] Why did you not participate in the news conference which was attended by Soviet and foreign correspondents? Were you, in fact, ill as was rumored, or did they keep you away from the news conference?

[Pogosyan] In fact, I was not feeling well that morning. However, during the news conference, I did feel better. But I was not told about the news conference either in the morning or later on.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of the report by Beketov entitled "Four Days in Nagorno-Karabakh" which was aired on central television?

[Pogosyan] You have probably seen the report, and you must have noticed that (?it made two references to me). I must say that what you saw and heard—I am referring to the interview with me—was arbitrarily selected from the entire text which, in fact, was 23 minutes long. But they only supplied 3 minutes of what I had said. Unfortunately, they chose only those parts that gave them an opportunity to interpret matters as they wished. Obviously, that is exactly how viewers saw it. I believe that Comrade Beketov employed unacceptable journalist methods, and I think that if central television continues to use such methods then the issue of the NKAO will not receive the attention it deserves.

[Balstyan] Frankly speaking, the opinion of our people is that from now on, no interviews should be given either to the mass media or to the central and republican media.

[Correspondent] For example, Comrade Pogosyan, why do you not publish reports in the central press or deliver speeches on television so that the Soviet people can get first-hand information on the NKAO? If this is what has been done, then why has it not been successful?

[Pogosyan] During the past few months, I have often had very serious discussions with the press. But I do not know why none of these persons have published these discussions in the central papers or magazines. One can only conclude that these discussions did not conform to the spirit of the information that they want to publish in the press for the perusal of the broad masses.

[Ovannesyan] It is unfortunate that facts are being distorted instead of being shown objectively. Sadly, this has become a journalistic method. SOVETAKAN KARABAKH will try to respond to some of these distortions.

[Pogosyan] The newspaper must become more active.

[Correspondent] Is our problem still being perceived as an ethnic one?

[Pogosyan] I do not believe that anybody views our problem as an ethnic problem. As to why a solution has not yet been found—well, that is the question. Recently Comrade Gromyko received our entire delegation. After that, I was personally received by Comrade Yakovlev and by Comrade Gorbachev. We studied the NKAO problem at length and in detail. It was my impression that the high-ranking officials generally grasp the NKAO problem. However, the solution to it has to be based on

the existing Constitution, although this Constitution suffers from certain shortcomings. The solution to the issue can only be achieved within the basic norms of the Constitution. Most probably, these are exactly the guidelines that are being used.

[Correspondent] Did any of the participants in the conference raise the question of the 78th article of the USSR Constitution? Was it suggested that this might be reviewed?

[Pogosyan] No one deprives us of the right to disucss amendments to the [word indistinct] Article 78. Our deputies have the constitutional right to call for an extraordinary meeting, and they have the right to request that certain articles be reviewed. I think that we should take advantage of that right. As for the amendment to the article, the final solution to the question falls within the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet meeting.

[Correspondent] The 15 years of Kevorkyan's arbitrary rule have had a heavy impact on the oblast's socioeconomic and moral life. Specifically, strange changes were made in the Leninist policy of cadres. You have been assigned to correct all this. What have you to say about this? We are all waiting for the oblast committee's new leaders to display a decisive and principled stand in evaluating the former and present cadres and leaders. The bottom line is that necessary fundamental precautionary measures must be taken in the party and in Soviet organs. In fact, it is time to get to work on this.

[Pogosyan] That is a very good question. Since this is one of the issues of perestroyka, the matter of the cadres will be widely discussed in party, soviet, economic, and all other organs, as well as in the workers' collectives and during conferences. I hope the official in charge will participate actively in choosing the cadres. Arbitrariness cannot and will not exist. I would like to ask all the viewers and all those present here to display a more active role regarding this question in order to avoid any possible mistakes in choosing and placing cadres.

[Correspondent] We have seen the videotape of the conference of the oblast's soviet in which you, Comrade Pogosyan, confidently stated that our problem would be resolved negatively. Why are you so sure of that?

[Pogosyan] I did not say anything like that in the conference. Reference was made there to the well-known issue of the NKAO's independence. In my speech at the conference, I said that the matter was not based on the Constitution, and I also demanded that it be placed within the framework of the Constitution.

[Correspondent] What happened in Martuni? There are rumors that there were clashes there.

[Pogosyan] "Fugitives" were brought to Hojavend village. I am placing quotation marks around the word "fugitives" because fugitives are produced by serious clashes. But in Azizbegov—in the Armenian SSR—nothing serious took place. About 80 Azerbaijanis arrived. The Martuni residents did not want them to be housed there and they demanded that all of them be expelled. Fortunately, nothing serious happened. The Army prevented a clash. After our arrival, we presented the issue to the leaders of the republic, and they responded immediately. The "fugitives" were expelled. The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers adupted a decision listing the areas where the "fugitives" from the Armenian SSR will be settled.

[Correspondent] Is the NKAO included on that list?

[Pogosyan] No. What happened was the result of someone's voluntary initiative.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, were the representatives at the conference aware of the Karabakh incidents?

[Pogosyan] Whoever showed interest knew. But a large number of the representatives do not know what the NKAO issue is and what problems Armenian residents of the oblast are facing. We, and specifically television and the press, must make great efforts in that direction. In order to present the situation in the NKAO clearly, it is necessary to use all the means at our disposal.

[Correspondent] You participated in the 19th all-union conference and had personal contacts with officials. In your opinion, what will be the future practical solution of the NKAO issue?

[Pogosyan] There were reports in Stepanakert that the 5 July USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium conference would study the NKAO issue within the context of the decisions adopted by the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR supreme soviets, as well as by the oblast's soviet conference. When we realized that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision lacked practical instances, we did everything within our power to prevent such a decision. I can now say that the question is again being reviewed by the upper echelons. It looks as if, probably at the beginning of next month, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will consider reviewing the NKAO problem. In my opinion, a solution to the problem will not be unanimously refused. The issue will be examined again and will be solved within the context of basic laws stemming from the Constitution. In other words, it is evident that no changes are foreseen in the territorial character of the republics. This is all I can say about the review of our issue. Meanwhile, I hope that if the matter is not finally resolved, it will at least receive a temporary solution.

[Correspondent] Is [word indistinct] the possibility of reviewing our issue during the plenum devoted to ethnic problems?

[Pogosyan] No. Absolutely not. Until now, we have spoken at the plenum about ways to solve the problem. But as far as the direction that the solution to the NKAO problem will take at the plenum is concerned, this is very difficult to forecast.

[Correspondent] Comrade Pogosyan, why don't the central bodies at least want to give a genuine answer to the issue? Don't our strikes upset them?

[Pogosyan] I put that to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He was very concerned about the strikes. Also, the issue is not only that of the economic damage being done, for more is being lost in other areas. The frightening aspect is the moral damage that is being done to the chances of a real solution to the NKAO issue. By going on strike, we lose all those political dividends that we have gained so far.

[Correspondent] Naturally, all of us condemn the strikes. But what could we suggest in their place? If they stop the strikes today, will that not signify the end of a true solution to the issue?

[Pogosyan] I don't think that strikes are our only means of expression. There are also other democratic methods that can be used. I think that it is necessary to end the strikes and to look into other means, such as collectively expressing our will by gatherings, by demonstrations, and by letters addressed to the responsible organs and organizations. We must continuously remind them of the situation prevailing in our oblast. And, finally, any kind of constitutional dialogue is a unique (?process) in which we are dutybound to take part. As for the strikes, I am convinced that they will not solve the problem. Moreover, public opinion will turn against us. The strikes in Yerevan had threatening consequences, and we should take that into consideration.

[Correspondent] Apropos, do you know anything about the incidents in the Armenian SSR?

[Pogosyan] I am aware that there were serious clashes and that there were victims. Much damage was inflicted. I want to appeal to all the workers in Stepanakert to do what they can to get the people of Karabakh back to work so that they will, in turn, appeal to the Armenian workers to resume normal living and not deviate from the framework of the methods of democratization. We are all truly losing the benefits that we have gained over the past months.

[Correspondent] What would you like to say to our people?

[Pogosyan] Our people are maximalists. Of course, it would be very good if the question were to be solved in the way that the people proposed. However, at the same time, we should understand that the NKAO problem can be solved only within the framework of the USSR Constitution. We should also realize that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which will be attended by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will definitely seek a more acceptable solution. I think that we are dutybound to create conditions that will facilitate the USSR Supreme Soviet in carrying out its normal duties. If the problem of the NKAO's separation is not completely resolved now, it will at least (?be partially solved). Let us [word indistinct] can any solution deprive us of our own view, which we have gained through our struggles? Life goes on. Our objective remains unchanged and we will continue to think about ways for a final resolution of the issue. I do not consider the decision that the government wishes to take as a final one. It is not the end at all. It is merely one of the phases of solving the problem.

In connection with this, I want to appeal once again to our people and to the workers of Stepanakert, and ask them to reconsider their decision to leave their jobs. It is our duty not to allow excesses to take place, and to do our best to overcome the consequences (?of the strikes).

## Baku Official on NKAO Decision

*NC2507073788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 20 Jul 88*

[Text] Emtiga Gasan-Zade, deputy chairman of the Trade Union of (?Fruit) Processing Factory No 1 in Baku and chief of the Economic Affairs Department, has told a Baku radio correspondent the following:

[Begin recording] Like all the workers in the Soviet Union, the workers of our establishment focused their attention on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting 2 days ago. The participants in the meeting discussed the decisions that were adopted by the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said the interests of the millions of workers in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's must be taken into consideration.

This is (?an expression of) respect toward the people. The Presidium's decision is wholeheartedly supported by the workers of our factory. The people of the Azerbaijan SSR did not covet the land of any republic in the past. They tried to create an atmosphere of brotherhood, friendship, and compassion, together with the other nationalities in the Azerbaijan SSR.

The extremists, who have created an unpleasant situation in Nagorno-Karabakh by their baseless demand for the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh to the Armenian SSR, wanted to create hostility between the two fraternal peoples. However, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has put an end to the intentions of the extremists once and for all. In compliance with the USSR Constitution, the Presidium adopted a decision to the effect that the alteration of territories within the alliance will not be allowed. The workers of our establishment are convinced

that the decision is wholeheartedly supported by all the Soviet people. It complies with the effort to further strengthen and develop interethnic relations.

It is common knowledge that the powerful Soviet state is a unique example of what has been achieved through the people's friendship. The representatives of more than 10 nationalities are employed in our factory. They spare no effort to carry out the tasks laid down by the CPSU and to increase the pace of reconstruction. I applaud the correct and just decision that has been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with the decisions of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. On behalf of our collective I express deep gratitude to our party and government. [end recording]

### Editor on NKAO Problems

*PM2507113288 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Russian 22 Jul 88 p 2*

[Our correspondent A. Mursaliyev report under general heading "We Hope and Trust"]

[Text] Baku—There is probably no rayon, city, labor collective, or family in Azerbaijan now that has not been affected to some extent by the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh in the last 5 months. The vast majority of the republic's inhabitants are firmly confident that the provocateurs' attempts to sow national discord are doomed to failure. During these days the majority of the republic's labor collectives have not slackened the pace of work. Representatives of Azerbaijan's many nationalities work shoulder to shoulder in the fields and at the plants—Russians, Kirghizians, Tatars, Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and others. Incidentally, Armenians also live elsewhere in Azerbaijan, not only in Nagorno-Karabakh. More than 200,000 of them live in Baku.

I met with Boris Gazaryan, tool maker at the "Bakinskiy Rabochiy" machine building plant, during the lunch break:

"I cannot understand those who try to divide the land and sow enmity between peoples. I am a native of Baku, I was born and raised here, I have never chosen my friends on the basis of nationality. Nor have I noticed that in my father, who worked until recently as a drill operator on the marine oilfields, nor in my elder brothers."

The newspaper KOMMUNIST is published in Azerbaijan in the Armenian language. I met with its editor, E.Ye. Grigoryan:

"Nearly half of our print run of the newspaper goes to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. We have met with a number of difficulties. People tried to put pressure on us, we were showered with letters and telegrams and anonymous threats. The newspaper was not allowed into Nagorno-Karabakh. Not everyone agrees with our principled position—not to inflame passions, but to promote the strengthening of friendship between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. Nonetheless in recent days, especially since the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, there have also been letters in our mail that inspire hope that the misunderstanding between the two peoples is a temporary phenomenon and soon everything will be back to normal."

### Agencies To Enforce Laws

*LD2207175188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Stepanakert (Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast), 22 Jul (TASS)—In the situation that has developed in Stepanakert and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, in which a number of enterprises and organizations have ceased work, the law and order agencies have concentrated their attention mainly on putting a stop to antisocial manifestations, illegal actions by leaders of labor collectives, and on rapidly removing violations of citizens' rights. This was said by Arkadiy Boretskiy, member of the Collegium of the USSR Procuracy, to TASS correspondents.

In order to promote the stabilization of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh as effectively as possible, he said, procuracy staff are persistently explaining to people that abandoning work places is unlawful and they warn of the possible legal consequences.

More than 100 people who were dismissed from industrial enterprises for various reasons determined by abnormal and interethnic relations have been reinstated at work. With regard to printing house director Yu. Nersisyan, who personally attempted to stop the work of his enterprise, criminal proceedings have been instituted and investigations are underway. The question of bringing a number of leaders of local enterprises to disciplinary accountability has been raised.

In the critical situation that has developed in transportation, particular attention has been given to implementing legislation aimed at preventing railroad cars from standing idle. Many leaders who were unable to organize production in the situation that has arisen are being sued for damages.

Arkadiy Boretskiy pointed out that enterprises in Stepanakert under the jurisdiction of union and republican ministries and departments have not so far taken all the measures available to them to restore a normal working rhythm, to comply with the law on the state enterprise's requirements, and in particular to fulfill contractual obligations to deliver output to other union republics. He stressed that all of these are constitutional requirements and the leaders of the ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations bear personal responsibility before the party and the state for rigorously adhering to them.

In order for people to live and work normally and to help implement by their actions the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Nagorno-Karabakh, the staff of the USSR Procuracy and of the Azerbaijan SSR together with other law and order agencies intend to restore public order and labor discipline, to use their authority to the full, said Arkadiy Boretskiy.

Other measures are also being taken by party, local soviet, and administrative bodies to bring about order and the stabilization of the situation.

### Tension in Stepanakert

*LD2207164788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Excerpt] Our special correspondent Vladimir Obraztsov reports from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast:

[Obraztsov] Only two buses are on the streets of Stepanakert today. All the rest of the passenger traffic is on strike creating unnecessary difficulties and hardships for city-dwellers. Although flour milling combines still carry on with their work, the city's main enterprises, including one of the largest electrical and technical works, are standing idle, increasing the extent of economic damage caused to the oblast by the frankly adventurist actions of the strike instigators. People in the city are still tense and refuse to make contact with media representatives. As soon as a journalist with a microphone comes up to a group standing around in the street threatening words can be heard from instigators.

In rural areas, however, the situation is somewhat different. Incidentally, the harvesting of crops in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is considerably higher at present than in past years. [passage omitted]

### Stepanakert Strike Discussed

*PM2507082588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 4*

[Correspondent A. Mursaliyev dispatch under the rubric "Stop Press": "Stepanakert"]

[Text] The collectives of the city's enterprises, with the exception of of those providing essential services, are still on strike. Admittedly, I have been hearing that people intend going back to work by Monday. But the population of Stepanakert is shunning any contact whatever with journalists.

At present Vasiliy Tyaglyy, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee, and Avsep Petrosyan, second secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee, are in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. They formulated their task as follows: To hold dialogue, explain the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution, and find mutually acceptable solutions to the problems, proceeding on the basis of the interests of the young people of Nagorno-Karabakh.

I met with Vera Ayrapetyan, technologist in a sewn goods shop at the Shushinskiy Sewn Goods Production Association.

"I have been working here since 1960," she said. "Relations between Armenians and Azerbaijanis are normal. We overfulfilled the 6-month plan for all indicators. We send our output—women's outerwear and underwear—not only to all rayons in Azerbaijan but also beyond."

### Agencies To Restore 'Order'

*PM2507091588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 3*

[TASS correspondents S. Sakhno and V. Ternovskiy report: "Stepanakert, 22 July"]

[Text] Stepanakert (Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]), 22 Jul—More than 100 people who were dismissed from industrial enterprises for various reasons caused by abnormal interethnic relations have been reinstated in work.

Criminal proceedings have been instigated against and an investigation instituted in the case of Yu. Nersisyan, director of a printing works, who personally tried to stop the work of his enterprise. The question has been raised of instituting disciplinary proceedings against S. Ananyan, chief of the Stepanakert Mixed Trade Establishment. These are cases on the Nagorno-Karabakh prosecutor's books.

At the request of the TASS correspondents, A. Boretskiy, chief of the General Supervision Administration and member of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium, commented on this information.

In the situation prevailing in Stepanakert and the NKAO, where a number of enterprises and organizations have stopped work, law enforcement organs have concentrated their main attention on curbing antisocial manifestations and illegal actions by labor collective leaders and on eliminating violations of citizens' rights as quickly as possible. In order to help stabilize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh as effectively as possible, prosecutor's office personnel are insistently explaining to people the illegality of leaving their work positions and warning them of the possibility of legal consequences.

Extensive use is now being made of injunctions as an effective response measure—the main point being that these produce rapid results. In this connection I must say that a particular responsibility falls to those originally tasked with heading enterprises and organizations but who are unwilling to take the requisite steps now to organize a normal rhythm in the production units with which they are entrusted. Following an examination the

question has been raised of instituting disciplinary or party proceedings against S. Abranyan, director of a plant; B. Dadamyan, director of a motorized passenger transport association; E. Zakinyan, chief of the city communications center; and others.

In the critical situation prevailing in transport, special attention has been drawn to the execution of legislation aimed at keeping railroad cars rolling. Checks have shown, for instance, that railroad car unloading procedures have been completely disregarded at the station and at other enterprises. Disciplinary proceedings have had to be instituted against station chief E. Shakhzadov. Many leaders who were unable to organize production in the prevailing situation have been sued for damages.

When talking about steps to stabilize the situation in the city and the oblast, attention must be drawn to yet another essential feature. Pros cution documents, in particular, have noted that union and republic ministries and departments with Stepanakert enterprises (the electrical engineering plant, the silk combine, the furniture and footwear factories) under their jurisdiction have hitherto not taken all the steps in their power to restore the normal work rhythm, fulfill the requirements of the Law on the State Enterprise, and, in particular, to fulfill their contract commitments to supply output to other union republics.

This applies above all to the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Local Industry, and to motorized transport. I must stress that these are all constitutional requirements and that the leaders of ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations bear personal responsibility for their strict fulfillment.

Of course, a great deal has been done. But in order for people to be able to live and work normally and actually help to implement the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the Nagorno-Karabakh question, USSR and Azerbaijan SSR Prosecutor's Office personnel, together with other law enforcement organs, intend to make full use of their powers to restore public order and labor discipline.

Party, soviet, and administrative organs are also taking other measures to restore order and stabilize the situation.

## NKAO Strikes Condemned

*LD2207221788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent P. Guskov]

[Text] The situation in Stepanakert remained tense today. Although many food and consumer goods shops have opened the public transport system is virtually idle. Only two buses were out on the streets today. As before, many of the city's enterprises are not functioning, including the important electrotechnical works. The blatantly adventurist calls by the strike instigators are inflicting tremendous damage not only on the economy of the oblast and the republic, but also on the whole cause of restructuring being pursued by the country.

It's now harvest time in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and our film crew has been to Askeranskiy Rayon. These shots were filmed in the Lenin Kolkhoz on the border with the NKAO. [video shows rural scene; Niva combine at work on wheatfield] It's been a good year for grain crops. I was told in the agriculture department of the obkom that the harvest is considerably greater than last year's and that most of the grain area has already been harvested. Bread is sacred to the heart of any people.

[Begin recording] [E.D. Mamedov, chairman of Khodzhalusskiy rural soviet, identified by screen caption] In our rural soviet there are Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and even Russians living here.

[Guskov] Has everyone been at work in the fields during these events?

[Mamedov] We didn't stop work for a single day during the events. We worked the whole time; all work went on time and everything was done properly. Our relations are very good and normal, just as they have always been.

[Guskov] What do they think of the decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium?

[Mamedov] Our people, our population, and the Armenian comrades who live and work with us and we, on the whole, approve of this decision.

[Guskov] What abaout the strikes in town?

[Mamedov] A very bad thing. Nobody needs them. The strike is damaging to our common cause and to the cause of restructuring, to glasnost, and to democracy. We have always lived in friendship, fraternally with the Armenians. We have family relations, comradely relations, at work, in life, and so on. I don't know who needed it all. [video shows half-empty streets; electrotechnical works standing idle; interview in fields with Mamedov] [end recording]

## Yerevan 'Remains Tense'

*LD2207170188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] In many ways the situation in Yerevan remains tense. Yesterday evening, at a meeting outside the Matenadaran building—the repository of ancient manuscripts—where more than 3,000 people were gathered, calls to strike were again heard. But as our correspondent in the Yerevan party gorkom reports, around 8,000 workers did not turn up for work on the first shift.

Generally, these are workers from the Yeras and Neyron relay device works. Seventeen enterprises started work below strength; the remaining enterprises are working normally.

Our correspondent, Karen Khumoryan, visited the mother enterprise of the Dzerzhinskiy machine-tool building association:

[Begin recording] [Khumoryan] This is one of the largest enterprises in the republic's machine-tool building complex. The methods of management by injunction that held sway in our economy have meant that the machine tool builders approached the end of last year with a huge deficit—almost R14 million. The new management and the entire collective have had to make great efforts to drag the enterprise out of the crisis. Back in April, the machine-builders fulfilled their tough plan tasks, and worked ahead of schedule in May and June. They fulfilled the half year plan ahead of time. But the wave of strikes at the start of July affected the Dzerzhinskiy workers, too.

I am speaking now to Irina Mikhaylovna Terzyan, secretary of the party committee at the mother enterprise.

[Terzyan] The plan for this month is 2.3 million [units not specified]. We believe that we will fall short by about a million.

[Khumoryan] You have been speaking about the economic state of the enterprise, but presumably it will be difficult materially for the workers themselves?

[Terzyan] Naturally. They understand this. Yesterday we got together for a chat—the entire collective. A deputy from the Supreme Soviet who had been present at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session visited us. We had a talk about the economic situation and what it means. They knew anyway that what it means is lost apartments, lost package vacations, lost holidays.

[Khumoryan] And another question: Yesterday there were calls again at a meeting—this time for a 2-day strike. As far as I understand it, your enterprise has not joined this strike.

[Terzyan] I will speak frankly about this. The collective does not agree with the decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. However, the workers came to work in the knowledge of the economic damage they have inflicted; and aware of the position. People are working so that the damage might be less, if only for the month. Just speak to anyone—they all say the same. The collective does not accept the decision.

[Khumoryan] I would like to add something else. The Dzerzhinskiy machine tool building association will be at work tomorrow, Saturday, as well because the workers are aware that too much has been lost. And also there is nobody apart from them who can make up the lost ground. [end recording]

### Troops' Role Described

*PM2507094588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 First Edition p 6*

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Mulyar: "Yerevan, 22 July"]

[Text] Life in the city is continuing to pick up its working rhythm. More and more people are realizing that there is a lot of hard work ahead if they are to bring the republic out of the crisis, increase the output of goods owed to customers, and pay off their debts.

Yesterday I visited Razdanskiy Rayon. I met G. Kotandzhyan, first secretary of the party raykom.

"I have just come back from the enterprises, where I have been talking with people," he said.

"And what was your impression?"

"Good, on the whole. Ending the strike is an important factor in getting the situation back to normal. The workers are still discussing the documents from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session on the Karabakh problem. There are many people living in the rayon who have come from Sumgait. Many workers originate from Nagorno-Karabakh. Consequently the most diverse opinions are being expressed. There are a considerable number of people who do not agree with the resolution passed. Nevertheless, a large segment of the population is aware that this is precisely the solution to the problem that is possible within the USSR Constitution."

"As far as I know, not all the enterprises in your rayon have been on strike?"

"Yes, 7 out of a total of 15 did not take part in the strike. There has been an average 75-percent turnout for work. This was helped to a considerable extent by the work of the aktiv. The party raykom and members of the bureau went out among the people, explained the situation, and argued the point with the strike organizers. This was successful in taking the heat out of the situation."

"There are 105 reserve servicemen in our rayon who have performed their international duty," Major M. Ogandzhanyan, deputy military commissar, told me later. "They have been a real support to the rayon aktiv. Directly under the leadership of Kotandzhyan, these internationalist servicemen are responsible for the social sphere: They are carrying out spot-checks on the work of stores and transport and are keeping an eye on public order in the city. Together with the first secretary of the

party raykom, activists from the council of internationalist servicemen are visiting the families of war veterans and wounded. All this, I can tell you, is having a favorable effect on the atmosphere and people's mood."

...Toward evening, returning from Razdan, I called in to see some students at the USSR MVD's Ordzhonikidze Higher Military Command School named for S.M. Kirov. They had been keeping the order in Sumgait and were now here, in Yerevan.

"The students," Major General G. Feodorov, head of the school, said, "are not just keeping public order; they are also continuing their studies. The school lecturers are giving tests and examinations on the spot, in the field. The situation does not allow them to gather everyone together in the lecture hall, although a trend toward improvement has been remarked in the last few days. We have now been taken into the reserve. But just yesterday the students were carrying out their service in the airport region. Together with members of the militia they were checking out all motor vehicles going to 'Zvartnots.' You can have a look at the 'trophies.'"

Looking in the safe, I saw dozens of knives which were obviously not intended for domestic needs, axes of various shapes and sizes, stilettos [nozh-pik], and daggers.

"Yesterday I was head of the group," Major V. Ivanov, deputy commander responsible for the battalion political section, told me. "Lieutenant A. Morozov and students A. Smolyar and V. Komarenko were on duty. In the course of their duty shift they discovered and confiscated 13 knives, axes, and other articles from vehicles. In a car driven by M. Karabekyan, for example, they found an F-1 training grenade among some cassettes. And they discovered a stiletto under the carpet in a car driven by V. Nikomyan."

Yes, the situation in the city is gradually getting back to normal. This is being helped by the enormous amount of work done by the party and soviet aktiv. The republic newspaper KOMMUNIST published an address from internationalist servicemen in Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon condemning the strikes and the events at the "Zvartnots" Airport. I learn that the republic's military commissariat has organized a meeting of ex-internationalist servicemen from Yerevan at the site where it is planned to erect a monument to internationalist servicemen who died. There has been a businesslike discussion at the republic's military commissariat. Reserve servicemen have condemned the calls to strike and supported the party line of stabilizing the situation in the republic.

But the extremists are not slackening their efforts. They are stirring up the people, giving their own interpretation of the decisions made at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, and trying to play on people's emotions and stifle common sense judgments.

## Yerevan 'Calming Down'

*PM2507081988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 3*

[Special correspondent Yu. Petrov report: "Yerevan, 22 July"]

[Text] The situation in the city is calming down. Many people have now decided to work more intensively in order to partially repair the omissions and thus answer the reproaches of workers in the country's other regions.

There are still many—contradictory and cautious—opinions on the essence of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. However, more and more people are bowing to common sense and are condemning the strike as a means of upholding their positions. The article "They Cannot Draw the People in Their Wake" ["Narod im za soboy ne povesti"], published in the central newspapers, is being heatedly debated.

It is, probably, time to talk about restoring not only the normal working rhythm. "In 5 months of tension we have forgotten how to smile," Rimma Surenovna, director general of the Yerevan No 1 Knitted Goods Plant, said. "People have become absorbed in their pain, unable to see anything else around." She said this at lunchtime in the planning department while congratulating Silva Agadzhanyan, an excellent specialist and a lovely woman to boot, on her birthday. They also wished her and her daughter, who had just entered polytechnical institute, a happy life. Rimma Surenovna proposed a toast with a glass of Pepsi: "May all our undertakings be correct and end well. Let's hope it will be good not only for each one of us but also for everyone else...."

Of course, we did not only come to the enterprise with a trade union staffer to hear these joyous words. I wanted to learn how the trade union aktiv is operating in this complex situation. During the most difficult days the association's workers turned to the trade union for help and advice. They were reluctant to join the strike right away. Their strike was short-lived in any case. The director general found the right arguments when the "representatives" of the "Karabakh" Committee turned to her. Trade union activists are also finding comprehensible phrases to normalize the situation, even though some of them and members of the labor collective council did give in to the strike at one time.

It is still difficult for association trade union chairman Ye. Akopyan to find forms and methods of work in the new conditions. It is a matter of time. At present all may be said to be united by a single idea—the idea that it is necessary to be closer to people and to their specific concerns.

It is typical that, even as the situation was worsening, the association's collective offered technical assistance to the knitwear workers of Azerbaijan's Nakhichevan. The workers have now resolved to repair the omissions

caused by the strike and recover the loss in productivity. They have asked the administration and the trade union to authorize them to work a longer shift. They will also work on Saturday and Sunday.

### Workers Discuss Resolution

*PM2507084988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 4*

[Our correspondent A. Sarkisyan dispatch under the rubric "Stop Press": "Yerevan"]

[Text] Our conversation with the workers at the "Armavto" Association's Charentsavanskiy Automatic Loading Equipment Plant took place at lunchtime.

"Before giving the editorial board an interview we would like to discuss the text of the interview in our collective."

"At any rate tell me the questions you deem most important for publication," I asked them.

"Well then, note this. We decided to discuss at a meeting of the collective the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. By and large we can say that people have taken the resolution into consideration, dictated as it was by the current USSR Constitution. Most people are disappointed that the proposals made by many speakers at the session about the need for compromise are hardly reflected at all in the resolution. M.S. Gorbachev spoke about guarantees necessary for Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenians when implementing the decisions on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. A commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities has been set up for this purpose. We believe that representatives of both Armenia and also Azerbaijan and the NKAO must be included in it. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary especially stressed that there should be no winners or losers in this question. We support this assertion, since the fate of an entire region is involved. However, some of the mass media remain unmoved by the gravity of the prevailing situation. Why, for instance, did an item have to be televised from Shusha where, apparently, there was a holiday and where to mark the occasion a woman was throwing candy out of a bus window.... We must be considerate of other peoples' feelings.... Don't let the whole country's workers get us wrong. We, Armenia's workers, did not want and do not want to let anyone down. We will work and repair the omissions, but we want everyone to know that the disruptions that have taken place in our republic were not without cause. People were tense for a long time; and in that state, was everyone ready to act correctly?"

### Academician Backs Presidium Stance

*PM2207113988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[Article by V. Nazaryan, head of Yerevan University State, Administrative, and International Law Faculty: "On a Legal Basis"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh—and every unbiased Soviet person understands this—is based on the clause of the USSR Constitution according to which the territory of a union republic cannot be changed without its consent. The law is the law and in this case this definition is the most suitable. The discussion of this most important question at a session of the country's supreme organ of state power, the broad participation in it of union republics' representatives, and the detailed television, radio, and press coverage of this event are an example of a serious and responsible approach to resolving a crucial problem. Everyone must realize that everything that crops up in the sphere of interethnic relations can be resolved only on the firm basis of socialist legality within the mainstream of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost.

After all our recent experiences the words of the 19th party conference resolution saying that any national problems require considered comprehensive analysis and objective assessment of the specific situation are seen in a special way. These problems must be resolved calmly and extremely responsibly—primarily by means of steps to meet one another halfway taking into consideration the unfolding processes of revolutionary renewal and without detriment to the international unity of the Soviet people.

The resolution has overcome the neglect—which has been discussed by the party—of problems that have arisen in practice in the sphere of nationalities policy. The resolution bluntly indicates that a great deal that affected the interests of the Armenian people in the sphere of culture, education, and cadre policy has been left unresolved for too long.

It was by proceeding from this profound understanding of the question that M.S. Gorbachev defined it in his speech as being of "extreme importance and complexity." For we are referring to a matter of exceptional acuteness for our multinational state. It concerns the extremely sensitive sphere of human relations.

The main thing is undoubtedly that not a single matter, not a single problem can be resolved in our country while disregarding the interests of even the smallest ethnic group.

It is extremely productive that the resolution mentions a firm system of rights guarantees for the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh in order to ensure that there is no repetition of past mistakes when promises proved to be

empty phrases. That is why we all welcome the decision to send to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium representatives who will operate in close cooperation with representatives from the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR. It is clear that the most important thing now is to implement the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on measures to accelerate the NKAO's socioeconomic development in the years 1988-1995. In this connection our republic is faced with a great creative task—direct participation in this noble matter, working efficiently and creatively for it.

One cannot fail to support the decision to create a special USSR Soviet of Nationalities commission on the Karabakh problem, which will study all its aspects and will, when ready, submit its proposals to the Presidium for examination. This is indeed a correct and dynamic approach.

As an academic and lawyer, I think that the resolution of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is not a one-shot act but rather a process of purposeful actions in an atmosphere of frank and comradely dialogue. In conclusion I will say: The examination of the problem at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the resolution adopted show every thoughtful honest person how a just solution of questions of the people's fate must be sought on the basis of socialist legality and revolutionary renewal of the country's state and public life.

### Soldiers Interviewed in Yerevan

*LD2207223188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondent V. Beketov report from Yerevan]

[Text] [Beketov] At yesterday's rally outside the Matenadaran building there was yet another appeal for the withdrawal of troops from Yerevan and the whole of Armenia. We don't need the army; there's simply nothing for it to do here—these are the precise words of a statement by one of the Karabakh Committee leaders. To find out whether or not the army is neded we have come to one of the units of the USSR Interior Ministry internal troops deployed in the city of Yerevan. The question I want to ask the officer comrades is why it became vitally essential to bring the troops into this peaceful city of Yerevan. [Addressing officer] Could I begin with you?

[V.F. Anikin, identified by screen caption] In connection with the events around Nagorno-Karabakh and also the tragic events that occurred in Sumgait, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs decided to send internal troop units and subunits into the city of Yerevan in order to render assistance to the local Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies in carrying out and maintaining public order and in patrolling the streets. On arriving in Yerevan the personnel actively joined in maintaining public order. Over this period the personnel has prevented a number of fires and accidents and have helped the militia by taking part in investigations into road accidents. A large quantity of firearms and other weapons have been confiscated.

[Regimental Commander A.N. Trofimov, identified by screen caption] The situation in Yerevan is now fairly complicated and one cannot allow these circumstances to be exploited by extremist groups and various hooligan elements. Therefore the main task faced by the regimen's personnel is to protect public order and prevent infringements of the law, as well as to perform the basic function of the armed forces, the basic function of the army of a socialist state—to protect first and foremost the people's interests.

[Company Commander V.A. Bobyshev, identified by screen caption] Our servicemen understand their tasks and their attitude toward the inhabitants of Yerevan is not in the least hostile. They understand their tasks and if they have to act then it is only against extremists and individuals who really are violating public order.

[Beketov] At yesterday's rally I heard what, for me, is a completely incomprehensible idea—that our troops are promoting national dissension among the population. What's your reaction to this?

[Anikin] I think that claim is fundamentally wrong. From the very beginning of the formation of the Soviet Armed Forces the troops have developed on a strictly internationalist basis. Even now, among the officers, ensigns, soldiers, and sergeants here in Yerevan there are people of more than 40 nationalities. We have no conflicts or misunderstandings due to national differences; I can state this quite definitely.

[Beketov] So the troops are themselves an example of multination relations?

[Anikin] Right. Relations of friendship, comradeliness, and mutual assistance. [video shows soldiers playing with small children on an APC]

[Beketov, to unidentified civilian] I would like to ask whether you, the local Armenian population, are bothered by the troops in the city?

[Civilian] No, no. their attitude toward us has been good, they have not bothered us. But now, in my view, the situation is normal.

[Private Ye. Svirin, identified by screen caption] Of course, sometimes we have different views on the Karabakh problem. The thing is that, despite the fact that we are doing our army service, we soldiers are not isolated from the world. We know what's going on in the country, we watch television and read the newspapers. They are

wrong to say that. We are protecting the interests of more than just Armenians or Azerbaijanis here. By its nature the army is internationalist.

### Baku, Stepanakert, Yerevan Situations

*PM2507111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent Z. Kadymbekov (Baku), special correspondent G. Ovcharenko (Stepanakert), and A. Sarkisyan (Yerevan) reports under the general headline: "Saturday, 23 July"]

[Text] Baku—Plants, factories, and scientific institutions in Azerbaijan's capital are working intensively. Collectives at a number of machine building, electronics, and light industry enterprises in the city decided to work for free on one of their days off in July, thereby making their labor contribution to restructuring. This initiative was supported by working people at other enterprises and approved by the party gorkom. Last Sunday almost R16 million of output was produced.

The meetings that are currently being held everywhere are producing committed discussions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution, which provides a comprehensive solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problems. The objectivity and constructive nature of this document and its utmost consideration for the interests of both the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples are being noted. This, in particular, was stated at the meetings held at 28 subdivisions of the republic's Academy of Sciences—institutes and design bureaus. Some 8,000 scientific workers took part in them.

"We are clearly aware of the responsibility borne by scientists in normalizing relations between the two peoples," I. Aliyev, director of the History Institute and corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, stated. "I think that scientists should set an example in restoring fraternal relations and take the first steps toward meeting each other halfway. After all, we largely promote the shaping of people's views—above all, young people's views—and their understanding of the processes taking place in society. A new generation is entering life, and detachments of the intelligentsia have grown up who have studied their history. I see joint research work by scientists, including historians of the Transcaucasus, as a way of resolving certain acute disputed issues. We realize that we cannot avoid disputes—after all, we are seeking the truth. But discussions should invariably be highly professional and there should be respect for different opinions."

The intelligentsia's role in fostering internationalism and responsibility for the destiny of our people and our entire multinational fatherland is great. This was stated in conversation by A. Ovanesov, chief of the Special Polymers Laboratory at the Institute of Inorganic and Physical Chemistry:

"Science is by its very nature international. A true scientist cannot be a nationalist, since intellect and reason are not the preserve of a single people. I read in the newspapers names of people who have been urging their peoples toward the abyss and whipping up interethnic discord, and I cannot believe that they include academicians, corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences, a doctor of philological sciences, a chief of a university department... Using words of authority to influence young minds in this way and to sow evil and hatred among them is a crime against their own multinational motherland.

"I am deeply satisfied not only with the decision reached in Moscow—which is objective and supremely fair—but with the course of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session itself," A. Ovanesov continued. "It was clear even from the replies and the questions that before the problem was put forward for discussion it had been profoundly and comprehensively studied, and then—before the final decision was made—the situation around Nagorno-Karabakh was analyzed again and again. I myself was born in that region and am sentimentally attached to it, but no way can I agree with the attempts to switch all the problems that exist to the sphere of interethnic relations." Stepanakert—The Strugatskiy brothers wrote the well-known novel "Monday Starts on Saturday." Today, on the penultimate Saturday of July, this title reflects the expectations of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the entire situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

"No one—Russian, Armenian, or Azerbaijani—can do without work," G. Avetisyan sincerely told me. "And a Karabakh without work is not a Karabakh."

Gamlet Santurovich has been working at the Stepanakert Electronics Plant for 23 years. In this time has has become a first-rate milling machine operator. But, short breaks aside, he has been idle since February. His family's material position has deteriorated.

"When we don't work, that obviously means we don't earn any money," the worker confided. "I had been thinking of building a bath-house, but now there's no money—it's all gone on food."

The strike in Armenia and the NKAO has dealt a severe blow not only to the country's economy but also to the financial position of the strikebound enterprises, each member of their collectives, and the autonomous oblast as a whole. TASS correspondent V. Ternovskiy let me listen to a recording of a conversation with Ofeliya Ayvasyan, chief accountant at a savings bank in Stepanakert. She said:

"There is virtually no money arriving at our savings bank from the oblast department of the Agro-Industrial Bank. We are short of money not only for paying our account holders but even for paying pensions... Previously we would make up the money with apartment

rents. But in recent months even this revenue has been more and more reminiscent of a stream that is drying up. People have no money. Nor do enterprises. Many of them—particularly those that have been continuously on strike—have gone bankrupt."

Most people in Nagorno-Karabakh realize that strikes are not a way to solve problems. And one can hear more and more Karabakh people saying that it is time to go back to work.

I make no secret of the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution was received with no enthusiasm in Stepanakert and the other cities and settlements of the NKAO. True, there have been no rallies and demonstrations as in Yerevan, but nor has there been any desire to respond to this—the only correct decision—by normalizing the situation and returning to work.

This is to be explained by the fact that many people have simply failed to understand the essence of the resolution. That is why the party and soviet aktiv in the autonomous oblast is conducting explanatory work in collectives, at Karabakh inhabitants' places of residence, and right in the streets. Yesterday's televised speech by G. Pogosyan, first secretary of Nagorno-Karabakh Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom, was devoted to the same goal. He said that the decisions made in Moscow create every prerequisite for eradicating the negative phenomena in the oblast which were permitted by the former NKAO and Azerbaijan SSR leadership, and stressed that strikes are hampering matters. He called on all Karabakh people to return to work Monday and make up what has been lost during the strikes.

In short, an honest and frank conversation is being conducted with people, and this is bearing fruit. Many people are reflecting on the consequences of the events of recent months, are pondering them, and are assessing their emotions against the yardstick of reason. I believe that the local authorities will be considerably aided by the lecture and propaganda group from Yerevan comprising the poetess S. Kaputikyan, th artist S. Sarkisyan, Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor V. Nazaryan, and others.

Nonetheless, the situation in the NKAO remains tense. The continuing population migration is having a negative effect.

But there are other good examples of cooperation. This morning the party committee chairman and secretary at a sovkhoz in the NKAO's Mardakertskiy Rayon appealed for help to their neighbors in the Azerbaijan SSR's Agdamskiy Rayon: They had failed to bring in a rich harvest. Workers at Akhundov Sovkhoz immediately responded to the request—three combines and crews were urgently dispatched to Mardakertskiy Rayon.

Yerevan—After days compressed by events in Armenia, it seems that the time has come to stabilize the situation. Usually in July and August Yerevan people avoid the 40-degree heat by taking to the hills, going to Sevan, or in the Tsakhnadzor Woods. This summer many people have forgotten about vacations. As for days off, many people have decided to make up what they owe by working on these days.

More than 100 enterprises were working in Yerevan Saturday, and of these 58 were not scheduled to be working. People are also working at construction sites. Public transport is running on schedule.

During meetings with working people you hear them say more often than not that the opinion that the republic's people are against restructuring is wrong. Yes, events have promoted such an impression. But on the whole the Armenian people have been and remain in the ranks of active proponents of restructuring of the economy and social life.

There has already been hopeful news from enterprises at which people are trying to minimize the output delivery plan backlog by the end of the month. On Saturday the "Lyuks" Footwear Factory in Yerevan produced fashionable footwear worth R180,000, which is far more than it would produce on an ordinary day.

### Azerbaijan Leader Urges Unity

*LD2307114988 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] Baku July 23 TASS—Abdul-Rahman Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, has called on the party activists, local government officials and creative intellectuals to "look for what brings our peoples together, and not for what sows distrust between them."

Local newspapers today carry an account of his meeting with them. The tasks connected with the implementation of the resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Nagorno-Karabakh were discussed during the meeting.

Having expressed confidence that the Presidium's resolution would serve to restore good relations between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, and strict observance of the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws, the party leader mentioned it among the principal tasks fully to implement the earlier adopted decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on dynamic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region (NKAO).

"Much is to be done by the republic's intellectuals to improve relations between our two peoples," Vezirov emphasized. "We agreed that representatives of the intelligentsia of Transcaucasian republics should meet,

exchange views, and jointly to look for ways to get out of the complex situation so as to do away with the arisen friction in inter-ethnic relations."

Tension which has been keeping on around Nagorno-Karabakh for almost half a year can and must be successfully removed, he said. I am calling on my fellow countrymen actively to participate in this progress.

## Banned NKAO Group Still Active

*PM2407172388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 4*

[Report by special correspondents A. Bushev and S. Romanyuk: "Time of Difficult Decisions"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] Stepanakert-Moscow—The peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan are experiencing difficult days.

The complex, tense situation in the two republics is causing massive population movements. According to TASS correspondents' 17 July reports from Yerevan and Baku, 7,265 Armenian nationals from Azerbaijan are currently in Armenia. In turn, around 20,000 Azerbaijanis have left Armenia for Azerbaijan.

It is easy to imagine how painful it is to leave your home, sever long-standing friendly ties, and leave the graves of your near ones and the land where you grew up, loved, raised children, and lived peacefully alongside your neighbors. Some of the letters now being received by the editorial office demand with unconcealed malice that we not write of friendship between the two peoples and erase the pages of fraternity between neighbors. It must be admitted that history recalls that these relations have sometimes been clouded, there have been frosty periods, and problems have arisen. But should this be said now, and is it fitting to run down one nation and its culture, history, and people in every possible way while emphasizing the superiority of your own? Surely the deaths of innocent victims are enough to make hearts quail and to say to hotheads: Hang on, use your head!

An especially large amount of mail is pouring in from readers in Stepanakert. In fact, it has been pouring in right from the start of the events that unfolded there, but it was only once we had been there and met with some of our letterwriters that we came to understand what lies behind the "united will of the people" of which we were so often told in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

We will not be wrong if we note that the most influential organization in the NKAO today is the disbanded "Krunk" committee. We heard very different assessments of its activity, diametrically opposed and mutually exclusive. The members of "Krunk" are described as "extremists" and as "spokesmen for the people's opinion." Even the title of the organization is interpreted in different ways. Some say: "Krunk" symbolizes the homesickness of the crane, while others decipher it as a more expressive acronym: "Committee for the Revolutionary Administration of Nagorno-Karabakh."

What is "Krunk" really like? Why did the organization emerge? What are its aims?

**A situation that no one was able to control emerged in Stepanakert in the second half of February. The party obkom apparatus, headed by former First Secretary B. Kevorkov, had compromised itself in the people's eyes. The people did not listen to party workers and out of inertia they are continuing not to listen to them to this day. The untenability of traditional propaganda, in which words diverged from and sometimes actually contradicted deeds, was laid bare. People ceased to believe words because they were empty.**

People were standing in the square day and night. A. Manucharov managed to disband [raspustit] the rally. He is well known in the city. He is a party member and director of the construction materials combine. In the conditions of disorder and anarchy that were paralyzing the city, there was a need for people whose voices might be heeded. It was then that "Krunk" was created and it was registered 5 March by the oblispolkom. It included 47 party members, 7 members of the party obkom and gorkom, 4 oblast and city soviet deputies, 22 enterprise and association leaders, 3 secretaries of plant party committees, and representatives of the mass news media and creative intelligentsia. "Krunk" was headed by an 11-member council. Besides the chairman, A. Manucharov, whom we already know, it included as his deputies V. Akopyan, member of the party obkom, oblast soviet deputy, and executive secretary of the Azerbaijan Writers Union oblast department, and A. Karapetyan, who was then working as an instructor for the Komsomol Obkom. "Krunk" has subdepartments: ideology, information, finance, public order and security service, and so on.

We will be frank: At the time of its creation "Krunk" was an authoritative and respected organization. Its leaders' words were heeded and their commands obeyed. This mostly happens even now. But how the people have changed! Instead of joyful expectation there is bitterness, and euphoric enthusiasm has given way to tired resignation and, as a result, general depression and tension.

One of us was present at the society's "farewell" session. It was held 28 March in the assembly hall of the city Culture Center. The event was extremely indicative and we think it is worth describing it in more detail.

A. Manucharov delivered a report. He behaved like a natural performer. He stressed that he tended to lose his voice at rallies, but there was little sign of this. There was nothing but praise for himself. The speaker denied that "Krunk" had any connection with the activity of the

Yerevan and Moscow committees bearing the name "Karabakh." Then he read out the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dissolving "Krunk."

A debate began—yes, a debate. There were very harsh words. One thing was clear: The dissolution of "Krunk" was a mere formality. The session was addressed by Zh. Galstyan, one of the most active and impassioned agitators and an honored performer of the Azerbaijan SSR, who we think expressed the viewpoint of most of those present:

"We must meet and coordinate our actions. We must go out to people, it doesn't matter whether 'Krunk' exists or not."

**It is not for nothing that we have gone into such detail about "Krunk's" final session. If you think about it, an explanation for many of the things happening in Nagorno-Karabakh can be found here. Indeed, it is a strange situation: An organization that has formally been dissolved is continuing to operate. Unusual! And this is at a time when there are thousands of committees, societies, and unions that formally exist but are doing nothing!**

**Clearly, we will be unable to explain anything unless we tell of one important conclusion. There are forces in the NKAO that are constantly fueling the situation. The officially disbanded "Krunk" is one such force. With the passage of time it has increasingly become an organization that does not promote stabilization of the situation in the oblast. The universal popularity of the "Committee of 55" (that is the alternative name that the members of "Krunk" have chosen for themselves) has required constant topping up. And categorical calls for the annexation of the NKAO to Armenia have been most conducive to this.**

Particular mention should be made of the "ideological" activity that goes on with "Krunk's" knowledge. Essentially, a powerful campaign to indoctrinate people has been mounted. Day in, day out, the idea of the need to struggle until victory is persistently and purposefully promoted, the most fantastic rumors are spread, and these often provoke the population, and the toughest pressure is exerted on dissenters. A special place is assigned to organizing a flood of telegrams and letters to central organs in Moscow and newspaper editorial offices.

Passions are running high and emotions are overwhelming reason. What next?

We may die, but we're going to get our way—we often heard those words. Thousands of people in Stepanakert for the first time deliberately did not go to work—massive strikes began in late March.

**We're not going to speak of the losses running into million or of the disrupted economic links in an extremely complex economic mechanism. We're going to speak of the people who for over 3 months now have been refusing or afraid to go to work. They have families, they have children. They need to be fed and clothed. We made simple calculations. The pay of a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent is approximately the same as that of a worker who is earning well. We cannot permit ourselves any luxuries, but even so it's not possible to put anything by for a "rainy day." If you were to leave any of us without our wages, we would be in a very difficult position after a month. We do not think that all the young families in Stepanakert are much more affluent than ours. You must really have to tighten your belt to deny yourself basic necessities!..**

During this assignment one of us talked with Margarita Sarkisyan, secretary of a shop Komsomol organization in the Karabakh Silk Combine, back in April. She had forgotten her clerical duties and was operating a machine tool.

Margarita lives with her mother, a pensioner. Yes, she needs her wage. But what most perturbed her was her honor as a worker, her conscience as a working person.

On the first day they met Margarita at the gate after work. Then by chance in the store. Then in a radio repair workshop. And they all asked the same question: Why have you been going to work?

That is the kind of atmosphere that is created around those who dare to have their own opinion. Who dare to act as their conscience dictates.

We do not know whether this girl is still working. Maybe they have "changed her mind." But we know how they "change minds" in Stepanakert, how they impose a general opinion, and what the machinery of this process is like.

Sooner or later, labor collectives will have to answer for what is happening. In conditions of economically accountable relations most Stepanakert enterprises are on the verge of economic disaster. In order to reach the "prestrike" level, it will be necessary to taste much sorrow. There will be no point in hoping for a good wage for a long time yet. The enterprise leaders, a considerable number of whom are members of the "Committee of 55" and are helping to fuel the situation, will have to answer for what is happening. Answer to their own labor collectives.

Isn't this the fear that is overcoming people from "Krunk"?

We were told in Stepanakert: Here in the NKAO you will not find a single Armenian who would agree to everything remaining the way it was before. We were also told this in Gadrut, a remote rayon center. Nelli Kasparova-Sarkisyan, teacher in the secondary school there, handed us a letter full of the angriest words. And she remarked:

"Unless there is a positive solution of our question, I will go on hunger strike. We are all prepared to go on hunger strike, the whole people. [No closing quotation marks as published] Incidentally, many people attempt to speak in the name of the whole people.

**Nelli's father, Ashot Dzhumshutovich Kasparov, a renowned military pilot and Hero of the Soviet Union, also lives in Gadrut. He flew dozens of unparalleled combat missions during the war. After returning home, he was a kolkhoz chairman for many years. We simply had to meet with him, but our voluntary guardians did their utmost to prevent this meeting.**

**Ashot Dzhumshutovich invited just us into his home. He showed the door to the "guardians."**

"I can tell you people from Moscow the whole story, but I'm not going to talk to those people."

Ashot Dzhumshutovich is a strong man. He has never backed down. The war and life have taught him to be steadfast. We sat at a table covered with a white cloth in his traditional bright Armenian house.

"You write this," Ashot Dzhumshutovich said. "We got along quite well with the Azerbaijanis, we got along fine, even brothers don't get along the way we did. The ordinary people, working people, I mean. Then came the period of stagnation. B. Kevorkov arrived in the oblast. The people in authority began to think not about the people but about their own interests. People were leaving the villages because life was so impoverished, while the bosses were building luxurious dachas. We ought to blame the guilty parties for this, not each other."

Ashot Dzhumshutovich does things that astonish many people. Alas, that is how people in Nagorno-Karabakh often view visits by Armenians to Azerbaijani villages. He walks there. He talks with Azerbaijani men and women. He is given a meal, and no point, however sore, is ignored.

**Samvel Vaniyevich Mamunts, Hero of Socialist Labor and director of the sovkhoz named for the 22d party congress, lives at the other end of the oblast in Mardakertskiy Rayon. We met with him in the early spring—somehow his farm was calmer than anywhere else in Nagorno-Karabakh. And although every conversation began with the "main question," he was able to answer it.**

**"We must live together regardless of any administrative subordination. We are suffering from bureaucracy since it has flourished throughout the country, and an Armenian bureaucrat is in no way better than an Azerbaijani bureaucrat."**

Most Azerbaijani families have left Mardakert, like many other Armenian settlements. Most but not all. Komsomol Raykom Second Secretary Sabir Batushov and his two small children are sheltering in a cramped one-room apartment. He stayed, though many of those who left looked askance at him.

Sabir graduated from the faculty of Armenian philology in the Stepanakert Teacher Training Institute and was teaching Armenian in an Armenian school.

We met similar people, convinced internationalists (for some reason that word has begun to grate on many people lately), in other rayons in the oblast. But unfortunately they are still in the minority.

Tomorrow will bring new tasks, new problems; for both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. But today it is necessary to act so that you do not intensify tomorrow's repentance. That is the wisdom of life.

## Stepanakert Strike Discussed

*LD2307185288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondent V. Obraztsov report from Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—recorded]

[Text] [Obraztsov] This is how our film group saw the streets of Stepanakert this morning. Urban transport is still not working. Worn out by the strikes and the disorder connected with them, people are discussing yesterday's address on local television by Comrade Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom. He called for an end to strikes and for everyone to go to work on Monday, and asked that they make up for the damage caused to the oblast's economy by the almost 6-month-long strike by their labor and [words indistinct] energy at their work places, and by holding subbotniks. And although the townspeople, constantly harassed by instigators, avoid contact with television workers, several people nevertheless did express their opinion on the main question: would they go to work? [video shows streets empty of public transport, small groups of people talking to each other; group of men turning their backs to the camera. A larger group of men faces camera; one speaks]

[Unidentified man] Well, what do you want to know?

[Obraztsov] I want to know...

[Man, interrupting] I personally condemn the strike movement.

[Obraztsov] Where do you work yourself?

[Man] I'm a builder.

[Obraztsov] [Words indistinct] The building sites have been idle (?for a long time) Do you...

[Man, interrupting] Let me talk about it. I told you my position.

[Obraztsov] Thank you. Are you going to work on Monday? [One man looks round at silent group, and says "Probably." Several men shout "Yes! Yes!"]

But some people want very much that the people of Nagorno-Karabakh not return to their normal working life. The instigators declare that all those expressing a desire to start work are enemies. They are trying to distribute leaflets. They are preparing arms in secret. [video cuts to picture of homemade weapons on a table in the office of K.K. Maydanyuk, senior investigator of the USSR General Procuracy, identified by screen caption]

[Word indistinct] like a grenade, a homemade explosive device. It is hard to imagine how much damage it could cause.

[Maydanyuk] When we asked the people who these weapons were taken from what their aims were when making them, they said that they made such items for the purpose of defense. But it must be noted that the people who speak like that are not evaluating the situation soberly enough, for this item, experts have told us, has a lethal range of 200 meters when it explodes. We have grounds for thinking that a criminal group, purely law-breaking elements, was the center for the distribution of these items, having an interest in [word indistinct] the tension and whipping up the conflict between the Armenian and Azerbaijani population. So our main goal now is not only to bring to justice the people involved in making these items, but the main thing is to confiscate all the weapons that have been piled up, so that they will not fall into the hands of criminals, drug addicts, or mentally-ill persons.

I would like once again to appeal to those who today are still keeping or making these items, to appeal to them to hand over their ammunition and weapons voluntarily. This is grounds for exempting such people from criminal proceedings. [video shows weapons: pear-shaped object wrapped in silver paper, tubes of different lengths, short cylindrical pieces of metal]

### Armenians Supporting Decision

*LD2307123388 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Text] The Soviet Republic of Armenia in the Caucasus is passing through a hard period of time because of a strike that has disorganized its economic life and caused damage estimated at R70 million. However, there are reports that increasingly many people there give support to the Communist Party's efforts to normalize the situation. Many representatives of workers, farmers, and professionals have expressed in public statements, letters to the Central Committee of Armenia's Communist Party, and interviews for the local press approval of the Supreme Soviet's resolution on the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region. They denounced the behavior of self-imposed groupings that kindle ethnic discord.

The leitmotif of most statements is this: Political adventurers sought to push the Armenian people into an abyss.

The situation in the autonomous region itself continues to be tense. Mass meetings have stopped there, but the work of many plants and factories is still disrupted because of walkouts.

### Enterprises Making Up Losses

*LD2307170088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jul 88*

[Correspondent Karin Khumoryan report from Yerevan]

[Text] Many of my neighbors hurried to work early this morning. When I called the gorkom, they told me that aside from the 40 industrial enterprises that are normally scheduled to operate on Saturdays, more than 50 enterprises in the city are operating with a full staff today. The collectives of these plants and factories decided at meetings held yesterday to work Saturday and Sunday to make up for the days lost through strikes. Among them there are some of our industrial giants, like the Armenian Electrical Engineering and Armenian Machine Tool Associations, the factory producing technical rubber articles, the Yerevan cable works, the Masis firm, and the electric light bulb works.

Yet another detail strikes one. No matter where people are, they are carrying issues of central and republican newspapers. They are discussing and debating the news in a lively fashion. There is no rally at the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts building. Incidentally, there was no rally there yesterday, either. That's the kind of Saturday we have here today: calm on the outside, but full of inner dynamism, contradictions, clashes of diametrically opposed views, and profound thoughts.

### Armenian Party Discusses NKAO

*PM2407183588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 88 First Edition p 8*

[Special correspondent G. Ovcharenko report under the rubric "Stop Press" and the general heading: "Grasping the Truth"]

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Jul—This morning, on the way from the "Erebuni" Airport, I expressed sympathy with the driver: It's Sunday, I said, and everybody's heading for Lake Sevan, but you've got to work.

"Not really, people have had enough time off," the driver replied. "People in Yerevan worked yesterday and are working today."

From the Armenian SSR State Committee for Statistics report I learned that on Saturday not only units with a continuous production process but also the overwhelming majority of industrial enterprises and associations were fully working. Many labor collectives also worked today, Sunday.

I think this is the best and most correct response from Armenia's working people to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh. People have not swallowed the irresponsible statements of the so-called "Karabakh" Committee, whose activists have chosen the path of unsubstantiated demagoguery and overt strong-arm pressure. As far back as last Thursday they tried to whip up passions at a rally near Matenadaran via provocative slogans declaring the Presidium resolution to be unacceptable and invalid, condemned what they claimed was a one-sided decision, and said threateningly that it would have unpredictable results.

But people no longer believe the instigators and provocateurs from the "Karabakh" Committee. Facing up to the truth, they have realized that the self-styled leaders are leading them toward a political and economic abyss.

"Under the influence of the moment and the slogans of hotheads we must not take steps that we will later recall in sorrow," G. Gevorkyan, member of the CPSU since 1929, stated.

That is how most people in the republic think today.

At a session yesterday the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau discussed the tasks of party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations in the republic in connection with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On the Decisions of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the Nagorno-Karabakh Issue." In a unanimous decision the Bureau approved the Presidium resolution and noted that it is imbued with deep concern for the good of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and all the USSR's peoples. In the prevailing conditions any other decision would run counter to the genuine interests of both republics' peoples and would seriously damage interethnic relations.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau noted that the situation created in the republic in recent months is the result of blatant miscalculations and errors in political, organizational, and ideological work by party committees and primary party organizations. They showed a superficial approach toward assessing the situation, failed to realize the political dangerousness of unfounded calls for the revision of the existing national territorial structure in the region, and adopted a passive, wait-and-see position.

In the extreme situation party committees were unable to give a lead to people, to keep them from rash actions, and to convince them that pressure on the organs of state power would have no effect except to exacerbate the situation.

Resolute measures were not taken to suppress the activity of the so-called "Karabakh" Committee. Primary party organizations failed to see any danger in it or the inflammatory, provocative nature of its actions.

Armenia's working people feel concern at the serious shortcomings in economic and social development, the exacerbated ecological problems, the major omissions in cadre policy, and the violation of the principles of social justice. Phenomena like protectionism, bribery, and the "black economy" are rife in the republic. There were serious shortcomings in implementing Leninist principles in nationalities policy. However, until recently the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and party, soviet, and economic organs had not drawn the necessary conclusions.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau called on party gorkoms and raykoms, primary party organizations, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs, and social organizations to conduct persistently, cogently, and from a party standpoint work to explain the political implications and meaning of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution and the propositions and conclusions contained in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

It is also necessary everywhere without delay to make a profound and comprehensive analysis of the prevailing situation, to ensure the restoration of a normal working rhythm in all sectors of the national economy, and to strengthen the population's international and patriotic education.

It is important to carefully investigate the activity of the so-called "Karabakh" Committee and to assess the behavior of the Communists involved in it from a principled standpoint. Leaders who have displayed political immaturity must be strictly called to account.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau regards it as a most important task for all party, soviet, and economic organs to mount vigorous work to resolve the accumulated problems in social development and improve the moral atmosphere.

It is not easy to grasp the truth. Especially in the difficult situation prevailing today in Armenia. But it has to be noted that the republic's party organization has adopted a clear and principled position and is strengthening its positions among the masses with every passing day.

## More on Ayrikyan Expulsion

*PM2307184988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[T. Senchenko article: "Story of a Former Citizen"]

[Text] He was born, he studied... First at school, then at an institute. The start of the life story of 39-year-old Paruyr Ayrikyan could hardly be more humdrum. However, its continuation is unusual. He had hardly finished the 3d year of his course before he was first arrested, tried, and sentenced. Five years later came another arrest, another trial, and more imprisonment—as on the first occasion, for antistate, anticonstitutional activity. To be more specific, for creating an underground nationalist organization that set the goal of overthrowing Soviet power in Armenia.

In 1981 P. Ayrikyan was convicted a third time—for bribing an official. On his release, he did not calm down—he cobbled together the so-called "Association for National Self-Determination" from a few like-minded people. The aim remained the same—the departure of Armenia from the USSR. P. Ayrikyan became particularly active with the start of events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, disregarding law-enforcement organs' warnings of the impermissibility of antistate activity. As a result in April the Yerevan Prosecutor's Office charged him with committing a crime under article 206(1) of the Armenian SSR Criminal Code (spreading fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system). In other words, the charge was that he had spread slander, which is regarded as a crime in any civilized state and entails criminal penalties in any state.

Finally the last line has been written in Ayrikyan's story: The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has stripped him of his Soviet citizenship.

It is easy to predict that certain Western mass media will do their utmost to portray the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision as virtually an act of violence and Ayrikyan himself as the victim of arbitrariness on the part of the Soviet authorities. It is easy to predict this because there have already been repeated attempts to portray Ayrikyan as a martyr. If you believe the radio voices, Ayrikyan's only fault is that he is a human rights activist who is not afraid to speak out publicly. The commentaries make no mention of his brushes with the laws that exist in our country, still less of bribery.

So, in order to put a stop to the false rumors: Back at the beginning of this year Ayrikyan received an invitation from his uncle in Los Angeles, requested permission to leave for the United States, received it, but refused to go then. Why? The answer is obvious: The abandonment of his departure, which he had so greatly desired just a little while before, coincided with the start of events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The logic of the experienced "defender of human rights," as he is sometimes portrayed in the West, was faultless. It is one thing to leave for abroad with a case of bribery as the latest acquisition in your baggage. And quite another to earn some political capital in advance, since the situation appeared propitious for this. But the fact remains that at heart Ayrikyan had long since firmly broken with both the Soviet Union and Armenia, whose vital interests he claims to express.

On 1 June of this year, after the end of the preliminary investigation, Ayrikyan asked the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to examine the question of dismissing the criminal case against him and allowing him to leave and take up permanent residence in the West. So the present [Supreme Soviet Presidium] decree has only enshrined in legislative form P. Ayrikyan's preexisting break with his motherland, which he himself has twice voluntarily renounced.

Virtually the day after Armenia's newspapers published the report of the detention of P. Ayrikyan by the republic's law-enforcement organs, a vocal but small demonstration in support of him was staged by a handful of relatives and "comrades-in-arms" outside the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers building in Yerevan. The demonstration was small because even back then, after his speech at the last legal session of the "Karabakh" Committee, which rapidly became public knowledge, people in Armenia realized that Ayrikyan's slogans and activity had nothing to do with either the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh or the interests of the Armenian people. Moreover, the reproach addressed to journalists at that time, including in letters to the editorial office, was: Why is Armenians' total disagreement with the slogans of Ayrikyan and his kind not sufficiently reflected in the press? Moreover, so far as I recall, few people then knew of the contents of the leaflets that Ayrikyan had produced and was trying to circulate and that were found in his possession at the time of his arrest. People did not know how "humane" the slogans put forward in the leaflets were. The following slogan, for instance: "...death to the enemies of the Armenian people. Death to the Russians."

Both previously and of late P. Ayrikyan's main efforts were aimed at counterposing Armenians' interests to those of our country's other peoples, including the Russian people, and thereby justifying the idea of Armenia's secession from the USSR. By way of corroboration I will cite just a few lines from the weekly INDEPENDENCE, the organ of the "Association for National Self-Determination" created and led by Ayrikyan. Thus, and I quote verbatim: "The age-old history of the Armenian people, and especially the last 70 years, testifies that the ultimate reason for all the Armenians' misfortunes is the lack of national, spiritual, and state independence." This is said of Soviet Armenia, with its generally known achievements in the cultural, scientific, and other spheres of

intellectual and spiritual life, of a republic that became the bastion of Armenians' statehood for the first time in the age-old history of the Armenian people to which P. Ayrikyan refers.

And here is an even more frank remark which completely unmasks the author's true intentions: "We are fighting for secession from the USSR... We regard secession and not annexation as our main cause and the only method of resolving all our issues," we read in that same weekly. As the quotation shows, P. Ayrikyan was a long way away even from those who see the immediate recarving of national state borders as the only method of solving the problems that have arisen in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh is not the goal so far as Ayrikyan is concerned. The goal is to undermine the integrity and state unity of our whole country.

How are his latest works to be assessed?

According to Ayrikyan, it appears that the situation that has arisen in Nagorno-Karabakh has been specially arranged by Moscow in order to distract the Armenians from ideas of independence; that the tragedy in Sumgait was subtly planned and organized, again from Moscow; that the "constant inflaming of Armenian-Azerbaijani confrontation" is Moscow's handiwork. And all this is directed against restructuring and against the peoples of the USSR and the world, the author of these logical constructs concludes. So it appears that the secession of Armenia from the USSR is in the interests of restructuring and the state? As I do not have the space for detailed quotation, I will simply indicate my source—everything is taken from the weekly INDEPENDENCE.

P. Ayrikyan greatly wanted to separate Armenia from our common state and certainly still wants to do this. So far he has only succeeded in separating himself from it. This is a natural result for someone who does not recognize the laws of the country of which he is a citizen. Or to be more accurate, of which he used to be a citizen.

## Workers 'Tired Out' by Strike

*LD2407215688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received a reportage from our special correspondent in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast:

[V. Obraztsov, identified by screen caption] Whether to go out to work tomorrow, and whether the strikes will end: This question is very likely the most important for the inhabitants of Stepanakert today. Will we see the city as the country has grown accustomed to seeing it for dozens of years—hard-working and amicable? Tired out by the strike, which has lasted almost 6 months, people are discussing the problems of their future life, asking questions, doubting and arguing:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] I live on a pension. I tell my own family that they should go to work. That is to say, a person lives when he works. [video opens with panoramic cityscape, then general street scenes, finally showing a group of some 30 people gathered in a street and talking]

[Second speaker] My work is connected with agriculture. I have been working and I don't approve of the strikes.

[Third speaker] I hate the strikes—negatively! In all respects I totally don't... [incomplete sentence as heard] Strike—no!

[Obraztsov] You realize, it is historical destiny: All the same, you have been living together.

[Third speaker] Correct.

[Obraztsov] You have been living together, and whatever decision they might make in the future...

[Third speaker, interrupting] And will live, will live. You see now that these peoples, these peoples have always lived side by side and have never been enemies. Hostility began in 1957, when a decree was issued by the chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 37 years after Sovietization, a decree of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet on the Azerbaijani language as the main language of the republic—all production affairs, all typewriters had to be changed to Azeri.

[Fourth speaker] We will work, we are an industrious people, and we ought not to stay away even for a single day. But the strikes were that desperate step, when a person has absolutely lost hope of everything, like a display in the nature of a hunger strike and so on—that is, the desperate step that the people took, if only to attract in this way the attetnion of the central authorities, the central press and the television. We serve the Soviet state and our party. We shall labor: Our indicators will be higher in all aspects than the average for the republic, and higher than the average for the state in some aspects.

[Fifth speaker] We will go to work, but we do not believe our problem has been solved for once and for all.

[Fourth speaker] We will not halt our struggle.

[Fifth speaker] So, we have realized that we would (?distract) the Soviet authorities and the Soviet state in this way, and therefore we will go to work, but our problem has not been solved.

[Obraztsov] The whole couantry is now watching the inhabitants of Stepanakert and whether they will go to work tomorrow. [video shows correspondent holding a microphone]

[Fourth speaker] Definitely.

[Obraztsov] So, what is your opinion?

[Third speaker] I'm certain. [end recording]

[Obraztsov] During these difficult days for the autonomous oblast, the majority of the people whom I managed to meet today made the only correct statements for themselves: to return life to its normal pace. [video shows more shots of group talking; correspondent interviewing another man]

[Begin recording] [Obraztsov] The role of party officials: What do you think it involves? You personally—where have you been, with which collectives, whom have you met?

[S.A. Sarkisyan, identified by screen caption] Not only I, but also all officials of the obkom and the gorkom, have visited many enterprises in the city and have carried out work. There is every reason to suppose that people will go out to work tomorrow. People have realized that the problem will not be solved by strikes. You have been told this today too. [end recording]

### Stepanakert Strike End Urged

*LD2407162588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Our special correspondent Vladimir Obraztsov reports from Stepanakert:

The inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh are now experiencing a difficult time. People doubt, argue, ask questions, including ones concerning (?their) future life: will the strikes end?

Today the paper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH published an appeal by the editorial board to the people of Stepanakert. It contains these words: Let us be bold and admit that our failure to go to work is inacceptable for our Soviet legality. The editorial board expressed the hope that the people of Stepanakert would unanimously support the efforts and endeavors of the oblast party and soviet organs aimed at normalizing the situation that has developed in the oblast.

The day before there were meetings at most of the enterprises of the town—the electrotechnical works, the Karabakh Silk and Weaving Combine, the condensation works—with party leaders of the oblast and cultural figures. The conclusion drawn by most of the speakers was to return to normal working life.

And today the streets of Stepanakert are indeed more lively than in the preceding days. I think that in making a decision that is important to them, many people are beginning to be more clearly aware of the (?idea) that we have one motherland, the Soviet Union, and we must not weaken it by subjecting it to such trials.

### Media Creating 'Extra Tension'

*LD2407095488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] [Announcer] Now we will transfer our thoughts to Armenia. The events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh, the events in Armenia and Azerbaijan trouble every—I am not mistaken, every—Soviet person. Just recently the editorial board sent Leonard Lazarevich as a special correspondent to Armenia. He is working there now with our permanent correspondent in Yerevan, Karen Khumoryan. [Words indistinct] Yerevan is on the line. Can you hear me all right?

[Lazarevich] We hear you well. Good day.

[Khumoryan] Good day.

[Announcer] Hello.

[Khumoryan] Hello.

[Lazarevich] You know, we have here a day that is far from simple, a very difficult day. Although I ought to say at once that many of the fears I had in Moscow have not been fully confirmed.

[Announcer] Our common fears. Here we...

[Lazarevich, interrupting] Yes, many people saw me off with great concern. My very first impression is that the city is living its usual life. There are many people out on the streets in the evening, sitting in cafes chatting. There are lots of people in the shops. As usual, on a Sunday there are stacks of vegetables and fruit at the markets. A lot of everything. The (?customary) abundance.

[Announcer] That is on the surface. Have you managed to look into the hearts of people?

[Lazarevich] Perhaps that is what we are short of today—spiritual calm. You know, you really do sense the serious inner tension, and it is persisting. The decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Nagorno-Karabakh is being discussed everywhere here. Diametrically opposing points of view are being expressed, and the discussion is quite hard-hitting. Another observation: The newspapers here in Yerevan are snapped up very, very quickly. I should say here that sometimes the mass media have given out reports that have aroused perturbation here because of their factual inaccuracies, because of inaccurate phrasing. This innacuracy and the creation of extra tension are definitely not needed in this difficult situation.

[Announcer] Leonid, I can see how difficult it is for you to speak. Clearly the situation is difficult and you are trying to choose your words precisely and with care.

[Lazarevich] Yes, it is essential at the moment for every word to be very precise. You know...

[Khumoryan, interrupting] Excuse me, I personally think that in the past few days the press has been trying to interpret everything that is connected with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Armenia more profoundly. In this sense, yesterday's report in the "Vremya" program was notable, and also today's report in IZVESTIYA. Indeed, the process of comprehending the truth is never easy, and this is particularly true in a situation as difficult as the one that has arisen in the republic. This difficult situation was dealt with very candidly at yesterday's session of the Bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

The strikes that have been held at many enterprises have caused great loss to the republic and to the whole country. The Central Committee bureau—and here I quote the republican KOMMUNIST newspaper—considers it a very important task for all the party, local soviet, and economic bodies to undertake active work to destroy—I beg your pardon, to resolve—the problems of social development that have built up and to improve the moral and ethical atmosphere. Unfortunately, it seems to me that the continuing tension in the situation is largely getting in the way of organizing an effective struggle for social justice here in our republic.

[Lazarevich] You know, I have been thinking of something else. We used to speak a great deal about internationalism, a great deal. The words were somehow showy and hollow, and you understand...

[Khumoryan, interrupting] They wormed their way in, these words.

[Lazarevich] There was no profound inner content to them. For this reason, such difficult situations arise, such a complicated and difficult situation for me, as a Soviet person, as a Russian, and sometimes for my colleague who is sitting right beside me, Karin. A truly complicated situation. What i definitely want to say today, this Sunday is on my way to the studio I saw many Yerevanians going to work. I repeat, today is Sunday.

[Khumoryan] Yes, and this has not just been the case today. It was the same yesterday. Incidentally, we have told radio listeners about this. Today's republican newspapers provide precise figures. Yesterday, in Yerevan, Leninakan and Kirovan alone—the republic's major industrial centers—around 200 industrial enterprises were working, including all light and local industry. I would think roughly the same number of enterprises are working today. We will have more precise information a little later from the gorkom.

[Lazarevich] You know, I would not like there to be any complacency anywhere in the Soviet Union or here in Armenia. The situation, I repeat, is tense and difficult. It would seem to me that now the most important thing is, however much emotion have been fired up, nobody should do anything that might be regretted tomorrow.

[Announcer] Well, I think that is the task of all journalists, and it is perhaps a very great role for journalists to get those emotions to change into wisdom. Wisdom. Folk wisdom. I think the people will always find a way out of the most difficult situation. Is that not right?

[Lazarevich] One must trust in all people. Always the people. As far as I am concerned, there is nothing higher than the people.

[Announcer] Well, thank you for the information, and we will await the news. One would like good news from Armenia. All the best.

### Yerevan Developments Assessed

*LD2407213488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondents V. Nazaryan, V. Gureyev, G. Muravyev, and V. Safronov video report from Yerevan—correspondents identified by screen caption]

[Text] Today is Sunday and it turned out to be, generally speaking, an ordinary day in Yerevan. There are many people out on the streets, despite the hot weather; people are sitting ourside at the numerous coffee bars, situated practically on every corner. Here you can drink a small cup of aromatic coffee, so beloved in Armenia; you can quench your thirst with cold juices or portions of ice-cream. Apart from food outlets, shops are closed today—but, as if to make up for that, members of cooperatives are doing brisk trade selling what they have produced. Incidentally, their numbers grow all the time in Armenia. There are quite a few buyers for the works of the Yerevan painters who have long since selected this square, by the monument to (Martiro Sosaryan) for their Sunday exhibitions. And here is another feature, peculiar to Yerevan: There is a shortage of swimming pools and during hot weather such as this the kids have to splash around—not without satisfaction, it is true—in fountains, such as this one, and ponds or anything within the town boundaries that holds water.

The tension of the past few months in Yerevan is going down degree by degree, like on this thermometer. In some places one can still encounter reinforced militia patrols and military posts where one enters Yerevan. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh continues to be in the focus of attention. Even the elderly, having made themselves comfortable in the square and settled down to their favourite game of cards have not been averse, having spotted the television cameras, to start talking about the recent session of the country's Supreme Soviet

Presidium and about the tasks set out in its decision. At the initiative of frontranking collectives, a whole number of Yerevan enterprises operated today. At the entrance gate of the Zakavkazkabel Association we met Eduard Mirzoyan, the chief engineer:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] What, over these past 2 days, has it been possible to catch up with?

[Mirzoyan] Over these 2 days we produced approximately R1 million worth of output and we have reduced our lagging behind by precisely R1 million.

[Correspondent] Yes, Yerevan's workers are striving to overcome what has been allowed to slip, to make up for lost time and they are doing everything possible towards it. [video shows long view of town, cut to street, vehicles and trolleybuses on the move, people around; clip of coffee bar reveals only one table taken; nearby pond is empty; people looking at clothes at an outdoor market, looking at pictures on the sidewalk; children bathing; unidentified group of people; several parked cars and nearby four-wheeled APC with two soldiers astride it, two walking nearby and three standing by the checkpoint as militiaman checks car; elderly people playing game, talking; van moving along deserted street, view of sidewalk, almost befeft of people; man interviewed; long view of town and of unidentified street with light to medium volume of traffic on the move] [end recording]

## Baku Oil Workers Comment

*LD2407165088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Over to our own correspondent in Azerbaijan, (Islam Kuliyev):

The Vladimir Ilich Oil Refining works in Baku has been working in conditions of financial autonomy and self financing for more than a year. [passage omitted] Frontranking workers and veterans of the works have come to the trade union committee of the works to express their ideas about restructuring and the events worrying them. The most important, of course, is Nagorno-Karabakh, and the materials of the session held by the USSR Supreme Soviet on this question:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] I have been working in this plant for 22 years. I studied and lived in the town of Kafan in the Armenian SSR and made friends with very many Armenian comrades. I have Armenian neighbors, and here at work there are [words indistinct] Armenians and we are friends.

[Second unidentified speaker] Here the question is, is our common home clean? As a national [as heard], for a long time our (?nationalities) have made friends and we should maintain our friendship. We must put all our efforts into strengthening our friendship, so that we should be like a single family.

[Dovedyan] My name is Sergey (?Avartovich) Dovedyan. I am a foreman in shop number 10. I have been working in this plant for 37 years. I was born in Armenia, and that for a time was called the Kazakh [as heard] province, and now Armenia. I have been living here for 65 years, and volunteered for the front. [Words indistinct] my home. Here is where my father, mother, brother, my children, and sister are buried. I am not (?going) away [words indistinct]. I am not going anywhere even if some bad person takes it into their head to do something, I am not running away anywhere. My boss is an Azerbaijani. The director is an Azerbaijani. [Words indistinct] they respect me.

[Third unidentified speaker] We are subordinate to Azerbaijanis. No one feels humiliated.

[Dovedyan] [Words indistinct] Armenia and Azerbaijan. We are all one Soviet Union, it is our motherland. We all live together in a single family. I think that that is all right. Those instigators in the end (?will split up) and will themselves run away. I [word indistinct] all right: They should be a bit stricter. Those who don't work [words indistinct] a person. (?Refuse) to work—what's all this? Parasites, rogues!

[Fourth unidentified speaker] I want to say something. The fact is that until the Karabakh events we didn't know that Dovedyan was an Armenian. We just said Dovedyan and that was it. We didn't know that this one was an Armenian, or that one an Azerbaijani.

[Unidentified female speaker] This question was decided very correctly, that Nagorno-Karabakh is a part of Azerbaijan and it must be a part of it. There are no borders—well, how can there be any borders in the Soviet Union? It is a single whole, the USSR, and the Transcaucasus is a single whole, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, they are brothers, how can this be, how can they be divided? [end recording]

## Vezirov Meets NKAO Leaders

*LD2507134088 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] Baku July 25 TASS—A meeting has taken place at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan between its first secretary Abdul-Rahman Vezirov and members of the bureau of the Nagorno-Karabakh region committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

They discussed the priority tasks stemming from the resolution adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR on Nagorno-Karabakh and the speech made at the related sitting by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

It was pointed out that Communists and working people throughout this republic have received with a feeling of high responsibility that resolution aimed at rectifying the situation and removing the serious shortcomings that have been present for a long time in the tackling of many issues affecting the interests of the Armenian population of the autonomous region, especially in the sphere of culture, education and personnel policy.

The members of the regional party committee's bureau briefed Vezirov on the work of the regional party organization to fulfil the resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. They said that local party and government bodies are directing their efforts at restoring a normal working rhythm and strengthening socialist legality and public order.

Specific measures were outlined to normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and adjacent districts.

Special stress was made on the need to restore a good, brotherly relationship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian population.

A number of pressing issues concerning the region's economic and cultural development were considered.

### Work Resumes in Stepanakert

*LD2507125888 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region July 25 TASS—Fixed-route taxis resuming service early in the morning today marked the end of a strike.

The employees of all the city's factories and workers in construction, on transport and in the services reported to work today.

On the whole, a total of 78.5 percent of the employees reported to work at Stepanakert's 15 major factories.

Shops and cultural institutions opened.

### New Head of Armenian Broadcasting Appointed

*NC2507112888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 25 Jul 88*

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium has issued a decree relieving Stepan Karpovich Pogosyan of his post as chairman of the Armenian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, in view of his transfer to other duties. Emanuel Aleksandrovich Araksman-Manukyan has been appointed chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

Comrade Araksman-Manukyan was born in 1935 in the town of Leninakan, Armenia. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1962. He is a graduate of the philological faculty of the Armenian State University and the Moscow State Institute of Theatrical Arts. He has worked in the editorial offices of the Yerevan newspaper YEREKOYAN and the magazine SOVETAKAN ARGEST, and was secretary of the board of the Armenian Cinematographers Union.

In 1976 Comrade Araksman-Manukyan was promoted to party work as head of a sector at the culture department, then as deputy head and later as first deputy head of the propaganda and agitation branch of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. In 1985 he became editor of the newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN. Since that time Comrade Araksman-Manukyan has been chairman of the board of the Armenian Journalists Union. He is a member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and deputy of the Armenian Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation.

### Paper Reports 21 Jul CPSU Politburo Meeting

*PM2507092788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report under the headline "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. At its regular session held on 21 July, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed steps to implement in practical terms the directives of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, as well as the suggestions voiced by the delegates to the conference. These steps concern the party's vital activity, improvement of the party apparatus, the deepening of radical economic reform and the reform of the political system, and also the resolution of questions of improving trade and supplying the population with foodstuffs and with other consumer goods and services.

The Central Committee Politburo decided to submit the draft documents to the next plenum of the CPSU Central Committee for examination.

Also discussed at the session was the outcome of the latest conference of the Political Consultative Committee and the meeting of the leaders of the delegation from the Warsaw Pact member states, held on 15-16 July in the Polish capital. The Politburo endorsed the activity of the Soviet delegation. The conference in Warsaw, which was a significant milestone in the development of the political interaction of the allied countries and a major event in international life, marked positive changes in the world: the relaxation that had started in the confrontation, and the deepening of political dialogue, between the USSR and the United States, and the Warsaw Pact members and the NATO states, and the first steps toward a real cut in nuclear weapons and the unblocking of regional conflicts.

A most important outcome of the conference was the elaboration of the military, political, economic, and humanitarian components of the concept of a "common European home"; the adoption of a platform for talks on cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe; and the advancement of proposals to tackle the continent's deteriorating ecological problems on a collective basis. The significance was stressed at the session of the continued development of political cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and of a systematic and collective analysis of the basic problems in international relations. Specific steps were mapped out to implement the results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee and of the meetings of the leaders of the delegations from the Warsaw Pact member states.

The Politburo endorsed the outcome of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official friendly visit to Poland. His talks with Jaruzelski and with other leaders of the republic, together with the joint Soviet-Polish statement, demonstrated the coincidence of the view of the Soviet and the Polish leaderships on the most important issues of bilateral relations and the development of socialism and of world politics, and also the community of the approaches of the CPSU and the PZPR to the problems of restructuring and of renewing socialist society. The numerous meetings with the working people Of Poland have shown that moods in favor of a further strengthening of the alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR exist firmly and are developing in the Polish public. The mutual understanding achieved with the Polish side to impart a new quality to economic cooperation, to join forces to speed up scientific and technological progress, and to extend production cooperation, direct links, and interaction in the intellectual sphere, will allow the whole spectrum of Soviet-Polish ties to be raised to a higher level. The decision was made to implement the accords reached and to examine the specific matters raised during the visit.

The session examined the results of the 44th sitting of the CEMA session and the work of the Soviet delegation headed by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov was endorsed. The documents adopted at the session will promote multilateral cooperation within the CEMA framework, the improvement of its machinery and of the planning and commodity-money instruments with the aim of phasing in a united market. They allow coordination of the plans for the forthcoming 5- year plan to be undertaken, with the broad involvement in this work of enterprises, associations, and other economic organizations in the countries alongside the planning bodies.

The need was remarked upon the creation in the USSR of the best possible conditions for the development of these processes.

Approval was given to Soviet Government measures to attract organizations from the interested CEMA member countries to take part in domestic wholesale fairs on a reciprocal basis. The conviction was expressed that the projected restructuring of cooperation in the CEMA framework, the beginnings of which were established at the Moscow working meeting of leaders of fraternal parties in 1986, will serve the development of worldwide economic relations and the strengthening of peace and trust among peoples.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved the results of the conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. Note was taken with satisfaction of a coincidence of the two parties' principled approaches to the tasks of socialist development, something that was clearly manifested in the decisions of the party conferences of the CPSU and MSZMP. By mutual conviction, this strengthens the basis for the stepping up of an exchange of experience, the restructuring of the mechanism of economic interaction and the expansion of direct human contacts. Instructions arising from the accords reached during the meeting have been issued.

Approval was given to the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's conversation with Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, during which a detailed exchange of views took place on a wide range of issues relating to bilateral relations and interaction between the USSR and Vietnam on the international arena. The importance was noted of giving a fresh spur to Soviet-Vietnamese economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and of the search for the most effective forms of bilateral links. On the Soviet side, support was expressed for Vietnam's resourceful efforts aimed at the earliest unblocking of the conflict situation surrounding Cambodia and at the consolidation of peace and security in Southeast Asia.

Consideration and approval was given at the session to the results of Comrade Ryzhkov's official friendly visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It was noted that in the course of Soviet-Czechoslovak talks and conversations with the CSSR leaders, confirmation was made of a complete mutual understanding on all the questions of bilateral relations and international life that were the subject of discussion. The consistent fulfillment of the tasks of restructuring and the democratization of life within society as set by both fraternal parties, promotes the lifting of the whole network of relations between the USSR and CSSR to a qualitatively new level, further strengthens integrationist interaction and the development of progressive new forms of cooperation. All this accords with the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and the cause of peace and socialism.

The Poliburo approved the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting, and Comrade Gromyko's talks with Venkataraman, the Indian president, who was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit. It was noted that the visit to the USSR by the head of the

Indian state was another major step on the path of expanding Soviet-Indian interaction in the cause of strengthening international peace. The Soviet Union's desire was reaffirmed for the further development of cooperation with India in the poltiical, economic, scientific, technical, and culture speeches. High value was placed on the Indian festival in the USSR and the Soviet festival in India, which constituted a vivid example of popular diplomacy and a manifestation by the peoples of the two countries of mutual feelings of friendship, affinity, and respect.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo session also adopted decisions on some other questions of domestic and foreign policy.

### Vorotnikov Addresses RSFSR Council of Ministers

*LD1807192888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] A meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers was held today. Results of the fulfillment of the state plan for the economic and social development of the RSFSR, and the state budget of the republic for the first 6 months of this year were examined. It was noted that restructuring is having an increasing effect on the socio-economic development of the Russian Federation. The process of making the republic's economy more healthy has begun and it is being directed toward satisfying the urgent needs of the population. [passage omitted]

Comrade Vorotnikov spoke at the meeting.

### News Briefing Held on 19th CPSU Conference

*PM2207135488 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 17 Jul 88 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Vitaliy Korotich's Press Conference"]

[Text] The NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY organized a meeting for foreign journalists with Korotich, Editor-in-Chief of "OGONEK" magazine, who was a delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The meeting was attended by Moscow correspondents from the newspapers "THE GUARDIAN" (Britain), "KOELNER STADT-ANZEIGER" (FRG), "CORRIERE DELLA SERA" (Italy) and other Western press.

Q.: Did you hear at the Conference anything that you didn't like, that disappointed you?

A.: The Conference has shown that part of the bureaucracy is dissatisfied with glasnost. Many became brave only in the corridors. There were no other disappointments. At this level, when we're only learning democracy, the Conference gave the maximum of what could be hoped for.

Q.: Which portion of the delegates was not happy about glasnost?

A.: Experienced actors believe that 30 per cent of an applauding hall produces the feeling of an ovation. In the conference hall there were many people who, being unhappy about glasnost, made noise. Sometimes they made the exact same noise in welcoming glasnost. At some moment I realized that not everyone understands that democracy means hard work. The resolution was discussed for six hours by the commission and then it was submitted to the general meeting. And here I was shocked to find that there were some people saying: "Enough discussing!" They voted for the most daring resolutions without discussing them. Their only request was that no one else should be given the floor.

Q.: Why didn't your magazine publish the prepared interview with Boris Yeltsin?

A.: In the interview there were several places which put me in a quandary. First of all, most criticisms were addressed to other members of the Party's Central Committee. Logically I should have given them the interview and asked them to write a reply. At that moment it was fairly difficult to do this. The second thing puts Yeltsin himself in an awkward position. He talks about how his wife goes shopping and stands in queues, presenting this as a feat. Having printed this in a country where most people stand in queues, we would hardly raise the level of respect for Yeltsin himself. I asked him to polish up the material and to set forth his positive programme—as the vice-minister of the building industry—in greater detail. I think that we will ultimately publish the interview.

Q.: How do you assess the programme presented by Yeltsin in his speech at the conference?

A.: I cannot say that his speech was challengingly different from other statements made. Though it is true that personal reactions and personal assessments sounded harshly in it. Most notably, Yeltsin often says that this or that leader must be removed. I don't know how these people work, and I find it difficult to appraise Yeltsin's position.

Q.: Yeltsin posed a question about his political rehabilitation. But, after all, he has not been stripped of any civic rights and has not been sentenced to any terms.

A.: Indeed, as seen against the background of people who were shot to death, Yeltsin's demand for political rehabilitation had a queer ring. I don't think that he should have put himself in the same category with Bukharin or Kamenev. That's why when he started speaking about his rehabilitation, whatever had previously looked like a tragedy became more reminiscent of a farce.

Q.: What could you say that's new in connection with the material which contained, according to your words, evidences of bribe-taking on the part of four delegates to the Party Conference?

A.: Investigators showed me all the documents and video-tape recordings of the interrogations. At the Procurator's Office, the cases of all four delegates with cogent proof of their guilt were put in an envelope and sealed with wax. But the hall started shouting at me, indignant that I could possibly think that there were bribe-takers at the Conference. But, after all, just yesterday in the same hall sat criminals of the same rank as Shchelokov and Rashidov.

Q.: At the conference, criticisms were levelled at Politbureau members. Is it true that the General Secretary, too, is no longer a taboo in this sense?

A.: We have never had a General Secretary who could be criticized. We are not used to this. For all my love of the truth, I don't want to criticize Gorbachev because I have no need to want to weaken his position. But in time we shall reach a point when it will be possible to criticize everyone.

Q.: Is it true that in the statements of some delegates to the Conference there were formulas reminiscent of the times when the Brezhnev cult was born?

A.: The machine that made Brezhnev what he was has not yet been dismantled, it works. But Gorbachev's mind is younger and more critical.

Two years ago I approached two members of the Politbureau with an "insolent" proposal allowing a reporter from our magazine to spend a few days with them, from morning till evening. What do they have for breakfast? How do they get to work? What do they do at work? What do their wives do during this time? In other words, to simply tell what sort of people they are. Nothing came of my request. I know that Mrs. Thatcher cooks her husband dinner on Sundays, and that Khomeyni sleeps on the floor, but I know virtually nothing about my own leaders. Corruption exists in many countries, even those with the most developed system of public information. And yet it is more dangerous when leaders are kept very separate from the mass media. Gorbachev is the first in our country to establish active contacts with the press, and he does this very well. I think that this is a good example.

### Bureaucracy Blocks Expansion of Intourist Office

*PM1907154188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[Yu. Grinko "Reportage With an Ax To Grind": "Window on Europe"]

[Text] The young girl soaking up the sun in the center of Moscow (15/13, Petrovka Street) was planning to go to France. She has been issued with a visa and now only a small matter remains—to buy a ticket for the train to Paris. She has been sitting with bowed head on a cabbage box in the pose of Rodin's "Thinker" [shown in accompanying photograph] not 1 hour, not 2 hours, not even 3 hours—she is 1,082d in the line.

She is going to have a lot more time to sunbathe if you consider that just 20 cashiers at Intourist's Central Travel Bureau are writing out the travel documents for international train travel by hand in an unimaginable crush and surrounded by the noise and hubbub of hundreds of irritated travellers.

The bureaucratic impediments to drawing up legal documents for travel abroad to visit relatives and friends by invitation have now been removed. Direct foreign economic ties between Soviet enterprises and foreign firms are becoming stronger. Restructuring in our country has also aroused enormous interest in us all over the world, which has affected growth in the number of foreign guests. Last year 550,000 visas were issued through Intourist and the figure had already reached 500,000 in the first 5 months of this year!

So how prepared are we for this new situation? You can judge this by looking at the second photograph [showing a jostling crowd]. Bedlam! What has caused it?

Everything, as always, comes down to...coordination. The need to clarify and elucidate. So that the only right decision can be made.

Making its problems known, Intourist asked the Sverdlovskiy Rayispolkom: "Give us the premises of the neighboring vegetable store for us to use as an operations hall for our cashiers." The response that followed was reasonable: "But you know there's a decision not to allow more administrative establishments to proliferate in the center of the capital!" "But we are not really an administrative office, we provide an international service," Intourist parried. "But what will we get out of it? You will have to fit out some new premises for the store and set up a cafe next door." "Alright, we will," Intourist agreed. "So, we will sort the problem out, then," the ispolkom agreed.

They have been sorting the problem out for 6 months now.

We talk about restructuring but are unable to get an extra structure to house some more ticket booths....

### TV Movie on Chernobyl Incident Previewed

*PM2107135988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 21 Jul 88 p 8*

[Preview of film to be shown Thursday 28 July under the general heading "Program Schedule": "Topical Objective"]

[Text] First Program, 2150 hours.

A "Ukretelefilm" Studio movie crew consisting of specialists L. Muzhuk and Kh. Salganik, director I. Kobrin, and cameraman Yu. Bordakov arrived at the Chernobyl AES soon after the tragedy. A few months later, their first movie entitled "Chernobyl: Two Colors of the Time" appeared.

Continuing to observe the elimination of the consequences of the accident and the life and work of people inside the 30-km zone and examining what happened from the production, scientific and technical, and moral aspects, they made another two movies with the same title. The authors do not regard the event at Chernobyl as a chance past mistake. From their viewpoint, the accident reflected the bad management which prevailed in our economy and in our attitude toward the matter.

The moviemakers believe that passions have calmed down over Chernobyl today. Many people have begun to forget about the tragedy. Only someone who has visited it, if only once, and seen the contrast betweeen riotous nature and the dead city will never be able to forget it. The movie crew is continuing its work to transmit its concern to everyone.

This week the third film is coming to our screens under the rubric "Topical Objective."

## NEDELYA Ponders Behavior of Purge Victims

*PM2107092388 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 28, 11-17 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 13 Jul 88) pp 6, 7*

[Dmitriy Zatonskiy article under the "History Club" rubric edited by Academician I.D. Kovalchenko: "Why Did They Slander Themselves and Others"; boldface as published—first three paragraphs are NEDELYA introduction]

[Text] NEDELYA (Issue No 17, 1988) has already published an extract from a documentary tale by Dmitriy Vladimirovich Zatonskiy, author of the essay we are offering you, narrating an episode from his amazing life story.

Life had a complex path in store for him: His father Vladimir Petrovich Zatonskiy, major figure of the Ukrainian Communist Party, chairman of the republic Central Executive Committee, and people's commissar of education, was repressed in 1937 on the basis of a false accusation. The label "member of the family of a traitor to the motherland" blocked many paths for Dmitriy, including the path leading to the front where he yearned to serve. Having "doctored" his biography, Zatonskiy went to defend the motherland during the Great Patriotic War.... But he did not change either his surname or his patronymic.

Today D.V. Zatonskiy—corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, professor, doctor of philological sciences, and eminent Soviet literary scientist—continues his scientific and literary activity.

Kiev—Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Fadeyev shot himself 13 May 1956. The 20th congress had already taken place, the few writers still alive started returning from the camps—he had been forced to "sanction" their arrests in the past—and presumably he found it difficult to imagine how he would look them in the eyes. He must have had a sense of morality; otherwise, he would not have thought of shooting himself.

In actual fact, he had nothing to fear—neither repressions, nor civil punishment, nor even dismissal from office.

But those who committed suicide in the thirties were different. They were captives of special circumstances. Instead of coming face to face with the NKVD investigators, they preferred to put an end to their own lives, avoiding at least torture and humiliation before death. This is what was done in the past by Mikhail Tomskiy, Sergo Ordzhonikidze, Nikolay Skrypnik, Yan Gamarnik, Afanasiy Lyubchenko (the last shot his wife and then himself in his car during a break between sessions of the Ukrainian Politburo where he was being pilloried; he also tried to find his son, a 16-year-old kid, but—fortunately or unfortunately—failed to do so).

Of course, this is not a complete list of the names of those who committed suicide: It is, nevertheless, sufficiently representative to explain why they all shot nobody but themselves, why not a single one of them attempted to shoot the person to blame for their apocalyptic misfortunes.

Back in 1938, my mother's brother complained within the family circle (maybe too loudly, even for that circle): "Why doesn't Budennyy take out his saber and charge them...!" Being a romantically inclined person and not too well versed in politics, my dear uncle was banking on quite the wrong hero: Budennyy suited Stalin; therefore, Stalin suited Budennyy.

In principle, and from the purely theoretical viewpoint, an assassination attempt was not something altogether unimaginable: After all, both Tomskiy and Ordzhonikidze were members of the Politburo and had virtually unhindered contact with the general secretary.... In all probability, Stalin also had this possibility in mind. Professor P.B. Gannushkin, dealing with so-called borderline conditions in psychiatry, claimed that anyone who attempts to take his own life must, regardless of contributing circumstances, be considered a psychopath. And those who unsuccessfully attempted to commit suicide under Stalin were locked up in appropriate clinics, preferably forever. It is hardly likely that Gannushkin's prestige played the main role here: It was reasonably assumed that anyone who has been driven to the point of attempting to take his own life would not hesitate to revenge himself on the person who had offended against him. And what if the offender is none but the leader?

But people like Tomskiy, Gamarnik, and Skrypnik did not even think of making an attempt on Stalin's life. The first explanation that suggests itself is that they were Marxists and Leninists, and absolutely rejected individual terror. Furthermore, each one of them—before extermination—had been subjected to a cat-and-mouse game, and by the time they had finally figured out what was what, they realized that the time for any action had been missed.

There is also a less attractive explanation: fear. It would seem, however, that anyone who intends to depart this life would have nothing else to fear. After all, Count von Stauffenberg was not afraid when he placed the briefcase containing the time bomb by Hitler's feet, even though he expected to live and not to die. So was he more courageous and more determined than those old bolsheviks who had lived through the underground years, penal servitude, and the civil war? There is obviously some other factor. And it is this "other factor" that prompted me to pick up the pen.

The likelihood of an attempt on Stalin's life is no more than a hypothesis, almost a sacrilege in many people's view, and it has been included in my deliberations for the sole purpose of being refuted.

It appears that nobody is disputing any longer the fact that Stalin accomplished a political coup d'etat in the late twenties and early thirties. Even Genrikh Volkov speaks of this coup in his article "Ascension. On How Stalin Became a Great Philosopher" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 7 June 1988) and describes it as "a kind of 18 Brumaire." Volkov is essentially correct: In both cases, we are talking about a counterrevolutionary coup.

But what actually happened in Paris on 18-19 Brumaire (9-10 November) 1799, 10 years and 4 months after the fall of the Bastille? People from the entourage of General Bonaparte, who had secretly returned from Africa, forced the members of the Directory to resign, while grenadier guards loyal to him forcibly dissolved the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of Ancients. A military dictatorship was established, even though it was done beneath the banner of "defense of the republic" and for the sake of "liberty and equality."

There was a change of masters (Bonaparte instead of Barras), there was a change of institutions (Consulate instead of Directory), and it was plain to see that a coup had taken place. But nothing like that happened in our own country in the late twenties and early thirties of the 20th century. On waking up in the morning, nobody discovered a new power in the Kremlin. Everything was done slowly, gradually, imperceptibly. People were changing, of course, but apparently not at the very top: Trotskiy, Kamenev, and Zinovyev departed from the stage, but Stalin, appointed general secretary back in Lenin's time, remained. Nor were the institutions—the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars—touched; power was flowing just within this circle.

What Napoleon, as first consul and later as emperor, offered the French people did not in any way resemble the kingdom of reason of which the Enlightenment figures dreamed. As for what Stalin offered to us as socialism, at first glance it seemed very similar to the plans sketched out by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

What really confused the issue was the fact that these were indeed nothing but sketches of plans. Even with Lenin. Of course, the general theoretical idea of socialism did exist, but it had to be built in just one country on its own, and, what was more, a country like Russia. And practical ways to implement general ideas had to be sought literally on the march—in the course of arguments and struggle of opinions, while making and correcting mistakes.

Even though today, 7 decades later, it is perfectly clear to see what Lenin wanted and how he started attaining it, and what Stalin actually built, many people still have doubts whether his barrack room socialism was the creation of ill will or the offspring of historical necessity, whether it was an implementation of Lenin's plan within the boundaries of what was objectively possible. This is because Stalin, while perverting the spirit, strove to remain true to the letter.

He knew his job. The idea of the party as an "order of sword bearers," the reduction of ordinary people to the functions of "cogs," the idea that an exacerbation of class struggle awaits us as we progress toward the heights of socialism—these are perhaps all of Stalin's distinct theoretical deviations from the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. At least, on reading about his revision of scientific communism, it is these few examples that you constantly come across.

Yes, he really knew his job. For example, in what way does he distinctly differ from Trotskiy? In my opinion, primarily in a certain cynical pragmatism. Trotskiy was his rival, his personal enemy, but by no means his political antagonist. But by no means everyone is aware of this. With a certain inscrutable "simplemindedness," Trotskiy made no secret of his antidemocratism, of his commitment to **barrack room** socialism.

Stalin concealed his commitment to it and vowed loyalty to Lenin's behests. Hence it is not all that easy to notice that his socialism is also of the barrack room variety. In other words: It is not all that easy to see that, in the same conditions, Lenin would not have created the same sort of socialism. This was not all that easy to see even for those who called Stalin Koba, who knew him inside out, and before whose very eyes Stalin's apparatus career took off. It must be assumed that Bukharin or Rykov were never under any delusions regarding Stalin as a person. But even for them, he started at some stage to

blend with the structure, with the entire system which (despite all their personal disagreements with him) was without any doubt **their** system.

Some of our historians have raised doubts as to the genuineness of Bukharin's letter composed prior to his arrest and addressed "To the Future Generation of Party Leaders." He did, after all, ask his wife Anna Mikhaylovna Larina to learn the text by heart and to destroy the manuscript afterwards. Thus no document remains in existence. But why should genuineness be confirmed only by a document, which, incidentally, can be forged?

A young man by the name of Gustav Janouch used to follow Franz Kafka around and took down everything he said. Inspired by the example of Johann Peter Eckermann, author of the book "Conversations With Goethe," Janouch published a book entitled "Conversations With Kafka." All specialists in Germanic studies believed Eckermann, but for some reason not all believed Janouch. I do not see any problem here: Janouch was an ordinary man, but some of his records are extraordinary; consequently, at least the extraordinary ones recreate a Kafkaesque world outlook.

Here is one recorded remark: "A Napoleon Bonaparte emerges at the end of every truly revolutionary development.... The wider the flood spreads, the calmer and the more turbid the water becomes. The revolutionary wave recedes, leaving behind the silt of a new bureaucracy." The curious element here is not Kafka's skepticism but his perspicacity. It is, by the way, also curious that he sees 18 Brumaire as the most graphic and most convincing example...

A similar logic must be applied to Bukharin's letter. It is **psychologically** genuine. Only someone with Bukharin's background and his attitude toward Stalin (he was destroying Nikolay Ivanovich yet simultaneously personified what he considered the ideal political system) could have written such a letter. After all, he does not attack Stalin, he justifies himself to the system and relies on a rehabilitation to come. Stalin accomplished a coup d'etat and had the Lenin guard shot. But Bukharin firmly believes that the system will remain in existence: After all, who will produce "the future generation of party leaders" that will restore his good name?

It is true that we know of Fedor Raskolnikov's letter accusing Stalin and exposing his crimes. Raskolnikov was probably a different man from Bukharin. But his letter is virtually the only one of its kind. And that means that it is a case here not so much of a difference of character. Raskolnikov's letter is the exception, but an exception which merely confirms the rule. After all it was composed abroad, that is, in a situation which in one way or another placed the author outside the system. As for the position of Martemyan Nikitovich Ryutin, described by A. Vaksberg in the article "As a Living Person Alongside Living People" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 29 June 1988), it is completely unparalleled. In that sense, Bukharin's letter is the purest expression of the "rule."

In the days when they were still playing with Nikolay Ivanovich, he wrote different letters. They were addressed to Stalin and began "Dear Koba": Nikolay Ivanovich had to think of his family and his newborn son. In brief, in human terms, everything is understandable. In the letter addressed to "the future generation of party leaders" all calculations have been left behind: After all it was conceived as a posthumous bequest....

Colonel von Stauffenberg was the heart of a quite broad anti-Hitler plot. And like every participant in the plot, at the time it was carried out, Colonel von Stauffenberg was already **outside** the system. A plot against Stalin (no matter whether it was broad or narrow) in which people from Lenin's guard would have taken part was inconceivable. Because these people, even a second before they were shot in the yard of Lefortovo prison, felt themselves to be **within** the system personified by Stalin. It was at that precise moment that Army Commander Yakir shouted: "Long live Stalin!"

They wrote that the executioner Yezhov died with the same slogan on his lips. It is hard to say whether this was a last cry for mercy or whether this was a manifestation of the slavish love of a cur who licks his master's hand even as it holds the ax aloft. In any event, his motives and Yakir's were different.

I knew Iona Emmanuilovich Yakir well, although I was still very young at the time. He was a man of rare bravery and rare honesty and, moreover, a man who seemed to understand everything. Nevertheless... A surprising, fatal aberration of vision! But I think that unless you take it into account, you will hardly succeed in penetrating the train of thought, in understanding the actions, and fathoming the strangeness of the inconsistent actions of Tomskiy and Ordzhonikidze, Bukharin and Rykov, and even of the younger and politically less significant Fadeyev.

In the second half of the fifties, when my father was posthumously rehabilitated, people whose fate had been similar and who had once served under him began to visit me. They included a former member of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court. Here is what I remember from his stories. The investigator asked him whether he considered himself a bolshevik and, receiving an affirmative reply, continued: "Well, the party demands that you, as a bolshevik, confess that you are an English spy." To this the former member of the Supreme Court replied: "If the party demands it, I confess."

The story told by my guest at the time sounds like an unpleasant joke, but unfortunately it most likely conforms to the truth: Who would have slandered himself like that, especially in 1956? Of course, we have before

us an excessive, extreme, variation on remaining within the system of barracks socialism. But does it not in a way help us to understand not the accuser but Bukharin as he tried to justify himself, or Fadeyev, who shot himself 20 years after the event? And we simply must understand them, because without such an understanding, all our ideals promise to become threateningly displaced, in such a way that black and white completely change places.

OGONEK (No 36 for 1987) published a letter by the critic L. Anninskiy addressing the journal as an ordinary reader. He cited the following lines from a poem by Ye. Yevtushenko:

"Blyukher's bloody tears will yet be cast in metal.

"From his pedestal Yakir will stretch out a granite hand to the country...."

And he asks: "I should like to know how Yevgeniy Yevtushenko views the fact that Blyukher's signature was on Yakir's conviction in 1937? And he ends his letter with the words: "...How are we to stop being naive?"

Who, according to Anninskiy, is "naive"? He who thinks that all the victims of Stalinism were complete saints? Then I am with Anninskiy. A steamroller ran over the country in 1937-1938. It indiscriminately squashed the good and the evil, the righteous and the unrighteous. Sometimes an informer would be sent to Kolyma together with the person he had denounced, because the former knew too much about the mechanism of repressions. That is why each man who was shot or who returned from far away should be approached individually—as far as possible, of course.

And so, Iona Yakir and Vasiliy Blyukher. As I have already mentioned I knew the former well and liked him very much; the latter I only saw a few times: He deputized for Yakir as commander of the Ukrainian and Crimean troops while Yakir was studying at the military academy in Berlin. So I hope I will not be suspected of a lack of objectivity if I say that I can find no reason why Blyukher and Yakir, as victims of Stalinism, should not be placed alongside each other.

Yes, Blyukher was a member of the tribunal which convicted Tukhachevskiy, Yakir, and six other army commanders and corps commanders. And soon he himself was convicted and shot. But even that is not the point—the point is the role assigned him at the 11 June 1937 trial [of Tukhachevskiy, Yakir, and others]. It was quite different from that assigned to Vyshinskiy, Ulrich, and Yezhov. They had all prepared and organized evidence and beaten it out of the accused. Marshal Blyukher and other members of the tribunal were needed to impart at least some weight to the sentence through their signatures. After that they could be destroyed. They were not even bound by collective responsibility, as Fadeyev was bound when he was ordered to "rubberstamp" the arrests of writers.

There is no denying that Blyukher signed a monstrous sentence. But if he had not signed it, he would immediately have been on the other side of the barrier. And he was frightened. Anyone who remembers the atmosphere of those years will understand him, though possibly not forgive him. A renowned hero of the civil war, a man who was a legend, but he was frightened... Unlike General D.M. Karbyshev, who held out to the end, who endured everything from the fascists, and was turned into a block of ice in Mauthausen.

But Karbyshev was face to face with the enemy, a clear, understandable, unambiguous enemy of his system and his country. Yielding to him would have meant betraying his country and the system. But Blyukher? Like Tomskiy, like Bukharin, like Yakir, he was conscious of being within the system personified by Stalin. And that paralyzed his will, confused him, disoriented him: Life looked either completely calculated or utterly irrational.

I do not think that any of them could have divided himself into sections, as I am trying to do 50 years later. And this impossibility deprived them even further of physical and moral strength. That is why they (not all but many) were broken relatively easily and slandered themselves. Yakir was one of these.

And Vitaliy Markovich Primakov, a man of absolutely outstanding bravery whom I also remember well, also slandered others: "I have named to the investigation over 70 plotters whom I recruited myself or knew during the plot..."—this is an extract from Primakov's confessions cited by B. Viktorov, who in 1955 engaged in a reexamination of the cases of the military men convicted 11 June 1937 (see "'Plot' in the Red Army." PRAVDA 29 April 1988).

B. Viktorov notes in particular: "It is a factor of some importance that Primakov was arrested a year before Tukhachevskiy. They 'worked' on him all this time. So did they crush his will over this year? Did the man become obedient...? Precise answers were needed to all these unclear questions." B. Viktorov's article gives a precise answer in the sense that there was no plot and Primakov recruited no one. But he does not seem even to ask how it could happen that Primakov slandered others and himself. And that is wrong, because there will be many people who will grimace scornfully when they read all this about Primakov: They were all tarred with the same brush, they will say.

So I have tried to introduce some degree of clarity. Otherwise, it will not be long before martyrs are declared to be frauds. Or conversely it will not be long before informers' sins are forgiven—on the grounds that even martyrs used to slander people.

## Economic

### State Juggling Too Many Construction Projects

*LD2407214788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] A news report and a comment: A decision has been adopted to take inventory of incomplete construction projects in all of the country's union republics. Judging by the latest data, R5.5 billion worth of completed construction and installation work has been frozen because of late completion of projects. A lot of time is spent on mastering new capacities, too. Less than half of them are being put to use at one in every three projects. Also, the capacities of operating enterprises are not being used fully. Thus, there are more than enough reasons to take inventory.

Such work has been conducted in Moscow and Yaroslavl Oblasts, as an experiment. It has covered more than 136 construction sites. The State Committee for Statistics reports that the results are deplorable. As little as 8 percent of the industrial enterprises that have been checked have been able to compare design data with the best Soviet and foreign specimens, which means that at the other enterprises funds have been invested in obsolete equipment and technology, or simply wasted, to call a spade a spade. The report of the USSR State Committee for Statistics names the ministries that have beaten records in this. They include the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, and the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building.

The inventory taken in two oblasts, which are not the largest ones, enables one to argue forcefully for the need to reduce drastically the number of construction sites. This will make it possible to release large capital investments and, most important, the capacities of construction and installation organizations for accelerating the completion of those projects that are really needed by the national economy.

### Goskomstat Official on Economic Trends

*LD2307172588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 July 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Goskomstat has prepared the results of the first half-year. Industrial output rose R20 billion compared to the first half of 1987. Goods turnover increased by R10.5 billion compared with the first half of last year. A total of 35.3 billion square meters of housing was commissioned.

Here to comment on the results of the country's economic and social development in the first half-year is Nikolay Grigoryevich Belov, first deputy chairman of USSR Goskomstat.

[Unidentified correspondent] What are the trends in the development of our economy?

[Belov] An important feature is the growth of the national income entirely attributable to labor productivity. Moreover, about half a million people have been releasd from the production sphere and are being used in the services sector, the cooperative sector, and in other areas of activity.

[Correspondent] There are a number of economic phenomena engendered by the period of stagnation that we still have not managed to overcome.

[Belov] Yes, many problems that the country was confronted with up to April 1985 are weighing heavily on the present state of the economy and the social sphere. And this is true above all of the imbalance between the natural, material component of the public product and its cost component. The increased popular demand based on purchasing power is still not being fully matched by the necessary goods and services. And in this connection, the issue of increasing production of goods and services is among the top-priority problems with which the country has entered the 12th 5-Year-Plan.

[Correspondent] What are our indices on these points at the present time?

[Belov] It should be noted that production of consumer goods has now begun to grow very rapidly compared with that of the means of production. Group B is now growing 1.5 times faster than Group A.

[Correspondent] For the first time in our country.

[Belov] This phenomenon is being observed for the first time in recent years, and above all in the half-year that has just elapsed. The growth in housing construction, the greater construction of amenities, the restructuring of investments in favor of reconstruction and the re-equipping of the production apparatus—these are all indices which characterize most vividly the new phenomena in the economy of the social sphere that have been brought about by the restructuring of all aspects of our life.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Grigoryevich, accounts—well, the quantity of documents involved in accounting—have now been reduced. At the same time, you now publish far more data. How has this now come about? Is it one of the hallmarks of modern statistics?

[Belov] Yes, in recent years we have substantially reduced state and departmental accounting, regarding this as part and parcel of ensuring the real economic independence of enterprises and associations in the conditions created by the Law on State Enterprise and the Law on the Cooperative Movement. At the same time, to better inform the population, we have greatly expanded data on such things as consumer goods output,

characterization of the social sphere, development of new forms of management, and a number of other fundamentally new areas in the country's social and economic development.

## Application of State Order System Viewed

*LD2107143588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Jul 88 Single Edition p 3*

[V. Shilov report: "The State Order Is Not a Command. Notes From a Meeting at the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] More and more frequently the rigorously official atmosphere of the Oval Hall where the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium meets is disrupted by discussions which are not fettered by the official pecking order. Recently inventors and rationalizers argued here about the shape of the law to stimulate scientific and techical creativity. A few days ago the heated polemic between representatives of cooperatives and the Ministry of Finance on the taxation system which took place in this hall was shown on television. And finally, as reported earlier, a discussion of the draft interim provision on compiling state orders for 1989-1990 was held in the Kremlin on 18 July. The following detail is not without interest. Among the 23 speakers only 1 was a member of the government; the others included enterprise and association directors, kolkhoz and construction site managers, and economic experts.

There can be no question of economic independence and a spirit of enterprise if the entire range of goods produced at many plants, combines, and associations is 100 percent covered by state orders. The latter have thus merely become a new form of directive targets and this drastically restricts the economic rights of labor collectives granted them under the Law on the State Enterprise.

What is the explanation for the transformation of the state order into a state command? First of all, the stereotype of vertical administration which was in force for a long time has led to a desire to retain control over the greatest possible proportion of the output. Furthermore, the goods to be regulated by state orders were not specified. Exploiting this, ministries and departments, unable to use methods of economic regulation of production activity, used administrative-command means to unjustifiably enlarge the content and volume of state orders on the basis of sector and departmental interests.

All this has evoked sharp criticism and numerous protests from plant managers and labor collective councils. However, the compilation of the state orders was carried out with such haste that people at enterprise level had no time to even turn around before the state orders covering 100 percent of their output became legally binding production plans. The protesters were in the position of people trying to stop a departing train.

Six months have passed and the incompatibility of the all-embracing state orders with the Law on the State Enterprise now in force has been thrown into focus with utmost emphasis. Both the Gosplan and the government are clearly aware of it. Today, when we are getting ready to introduce full economic accountability [khozraschet] in all sectors of industry and when production plans for next year are being drafted, it is essential to carefully weigh up the results of work under the Law on the State Enterprise over the past 6 months. One of the key questions of the economic reform relates to the shape of the state order and its purpose and role in the national economic complex. The 6 months of experience which we have gained makes it possible to see the pluses and minuses of the state order system more clearly. We must avail ourselves of this opportunity to sort ourselves out, to rectify mistakes, and to introduce corrections based on economic experience. This is approximately how N.I. Ryzhkov formulated the task of this discussion.

Explaining the concept of the state order, Yu.D. Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR Gosplan, noted that in conditions of enterprises' broad economic independence, the state order is intended to safeguard the priority of statewide national economic interests in the implementation of economic and social tasks. This applies above all to the fulfillment of major scientific and technical programs, important scientific research projects, strengthening the country's defense capability, commissioning important national economic installations, and satisfying society's requirements for food, goods, and services. The system of state orders is used to effect a structural restructuring of production and to achieve optimum proportions in, and the balanced development of, the national economy.

As far as economic practice is concerned, the task consists of finding the correct correlation between state orders and the total volume of production. It is around this in particular that passions are raging. Bearing in mind last year's mistakes and distortions, the USSR Gosplan has introduced a number of significant changes in the procedure for compiling state orders:

The relative proportion of state orders is being reduced by a factor of 2-3, and sometimes even more.

The number of state order indicators has been reduced by a factor of 6, and centralized planning as regards types of output has been reduced by a factor of 15.

State orders are laid down only by the Gosplan. Ministries do not have the right to lay down "departmental state orders."

Mass-series production and production for internal consumption within sectors is excluded from the system of state orders.

As a result, enterprises will have more opportunities for economic maneuvering and the development of horizontal economic relations and mutual ties. For instance, the state order will cover only 35 percent of the output of processing centers, the remainder will be sold under direct contracts between producers and clients. In light industry the state order will apply only to the production of goods for children, young people, and the aged, and for work and special-purpose clothing. More than half the enterprises will work under contracts with trade. It would seem that this better coordination between planning and the Law on the State Enterprise should meet with the full support of economic managers. However, the discussion revealed rather contradictory views.

B.A. Kustov, director general of the West Siberian Metallurgical Combine:

Is it possible to set the metalworkers a state order covering 100 percent of their output? No! The state order should only comprise consumer orders for ranges of metal goods which are in extremely short supply.

N.I. Serebryanikov, chief of Mosenergo [Moscow power supply administration]:

A 100-percent state order for electricity and heat supply sometimes forces enterprises to burn fuel when there is no need for this—for instance, as a result of warm weather. It is warm outside, but you have to supply heat, just to fulfill the state order.

N.I. Travkin, chief of the No 2 state production association of the Moscow Oblast Main Construction Administration:

An all-embracing state order undermines collectives' faith in economic independence and paralyzes initiative and the spirit of enterprise. What sort of high-handed behavior is this: The Gosplan includes projects of statewide importance in the state order, then the obkom and the oblispolkom add their "oblast state order" and, before you know it, there are demands to fulfill the "rayon state order."

Ye.N. Zayashnikov, director of the Yaroslavnefteorgsintez Association:

We are satisfied with the fact that the state order for 1988 covers 58 percent of our output. The rest we will deliver under direct contracts.

Quite a few managers take a diametrically opposed view.

V.I. Isakov, director general of the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant, stated resolutely:

We request a state order covering 100 percent of our output which guarantees us the supply of corresponding material resources. Otherwise, there will be a drop in motor vehicle production.

Fear of losing centralized material and technical supplies dictated the "100-percent stance" of V.I. Kvasov, director general of the Voroshilovgradteplovozstroy Association, A.K. Mukhametzyanov, director general of the Tatneft association, and a number of others. Many speakers seemed to be applying double standards to some extent. As producers they wanted a certain amount of elbow room in goods production for management and commercial maneuvering, but as consumers they insisted on binding state orders for their suppliers. Why? The reason is that many producers use their monopoly position to extract "nonlabor" income and advantages, so to speak. In some cases, in return for merely concluding a contract, they will demand the allocation of means for the construction of their own installations; in other cases they demand that people obtain for them resources which are in short supply, and so forth. This kind of "extortion," not to mention the monopolistic high prices, is—as was noted in many speeches—relatively widespread. The diktat of the producer is sometimes most categorical in tone. In this context the viewpoint of the economists Academicians L.I. Abalkin and A.G. Aganbegyan deserves attention. Analyzing the draft provision on the procedure for compiling state orders submitted by the Gosplan, they express the view that, despite the fact that the new draft curbs departmental arbitrariness, it nonetheless largely retains obsolete economic priorities. The proposed state order is to all intents and purposes the former "state command," albeit reduced in scope as regards the products list. In our view it is consumers who should be issuing state orders. For instance, the volume of oil production should be determined by petrochemical workers, agricultural machinery should be ordered via the Gosagroprom, and consumer goods via the Ministry of Trade. Whereas now it is the Gosplan which transmits state orders via sector ministries. The state should define priority consumers, rather than producers. In the next few years state orders will account for 45-85 percent of the total volume of output, and in the longer term for 30-35 percent. By retaining the old system of planning and distribution we are discrediting the very idea of the state order as an important economic instrument for managing the national economy.

The following question was also discussed during the debate. The collectives which produce end products are now entitled to sell part of their above-plan output. This gives them great commercial advantages. But what about those who supply semifinished goods, components, or blanks? For instance, the Volga Motor Vehicle plant makes a considerable profit from the sale of vehicles produced in excess of plan while hundreds of its partners, having supplied additional components, get nothing at all. It would be just if the plant, and others in the same position, shared part of the profit from the sale of above-plan vehicles, automated production lines, and sophisticated technological complexes with their supplier enterprises. This sort of procedure would, according to the shared opinion of the speakers, constitute a good economic platform for purposeful, businesslike cooperation.

Summing up the results of the critical and at times emotional debate, N.I. Ryzhkov noted that, despite the diversity of views, sometimes even diametrically opposed views, the discussion had been useful and necessary. He pointed out that we are entering a very complex period in our economic life. In conditions of the preservation of many stereotypes which are obsolete but still legitimized by the 5-year plan we must make a more vigorous effort to deepen the process of restructuring. The speeches of our economic scientists set out the optimum approach to the compilation and role of state orders. We are not yet ready for this. The necessary economic circumstances have not yet been created, many fundamental measures such as a reform of the price system and the development of wholesale trade have not yet been implemented. In many respects the cadres are not yet ready either. However, this complex stage of restructuring is inevitable and we must negotiate it. The provision on the procedure for compiling state orders is basically in keeping with the transitional period, although—as the discussion has shown—a certain amount of work will be necessary to finalize it. It has to be borne in mind that it is an interim provision which is being adopted for the 2 remaining years of the 5-year plan. It is necessary, right now, to embark on the formulation of a document which will correspond to the economic reform's integral nature, which will finally take shape by the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan.

### Further on Discussion

*PM2107142088 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jul 88 p 1*

[V. Golovachev report on 18 July USSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussion: "The State Issues an Order...."]

[Text] The Oval Hall of the House of Government in the Kremlin, where the latest session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium was held, was packed full on 18 July. Some 150 people were invited—directors of enterprises, representatives of ministries and departments, leaders of kolkhozes, rayon agro-industrial associations, construction sites, and transportation, scientists, specialists, and journalists (these last, it must be said, are present increasingly frequently at Council of Ministers Presidium sessions, a good tradition that seems to be developing, entirely in the spirit of the times). The question that was discussed is one that is the focus of continuing passions, heated battles, and disputes—the question of the state order, or more precisely the draft interim regulations on the formulation of state orders for 1989-1990.

The session was conducted by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. A report was delivered by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

"This is one of the most fundamental questions of the radical economic reform that is taking place," Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov stressed, opening the session. "We are following an untrodden path, and it would be naive to suppose that we will learn everything in 6 months. But the main questions are clear. Our task today is to determine clearly where we are moving in the right direction, and where amendments are required...."

Thus, there is an instrument of the new economic mechanism to which we are not yet accustomed: The state issues an order. This order should, first and foremost, be advantageous to the enterprise. Plants should "fight" one another for the order. But in reality it often happens differently. Those labor collectives that have received from the ministry a state order that is not to their advantage and is sometimes beyond their powers, covering the entire volume of output produced and even exceeding the enterprise's capacities, have made serious and justified complaints on this score.

In the main, it was noted at the session, in the course of the drafting of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for this year, ministries and departments, in setting the state order for the enterprises, failed to renounce the command-and-administer methods of leadership, unjustifiably extended the range and volume of state orders, and thereby restricted the enterprises' rights. Work to form the state order was organized particularly unsatisfactorily at the USSR Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building and the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry.

And the USSR Gosplan failed to define in good time the proper correlation between state orders and the total volumes of output, failed to ensure proper monitoring of the formulation of state orders by USSR Ministries and departments, and failed to take the necessary measures to rectify the violations that occurred.

Here, it must be noted, there are both objective and subjective factors. First, there was very little time last year for formulating the state orders, only about 2.5 months. And certain shortcomings were inevitable here. Second, direct links between enterprises were not worked out. Many of them, fearing a serious disaster, "leaned" on the ministries, demanding that all their output be incorporated in the state order. And the ministries yielded to pressure. Pressure not only from their enterprises, but also from local organs. Although, as the editorial mail indicates, there were also cases of the opposite: Plants tried with all their might to ward off the state order, but the sector headquarters imposed them by force.

What is the situation as of today? The situation is curious. When enterprises are acting in the role of client [zakazchik], they demand that all the deliveries they require be incorporated in the state order. That is understandable: In the conditions of shortages, this is

very important. But when it is a question of the output produced by a given enterprise, here, on the contrary, it wants the state order to be reduced to the minimum. It is clear even to a layman that there is no logic in this approach, because everything is interconnected in the economy, every enterprise is at the same time a consumer of output and a manufacturer of it....

Certain scientists have their own view of the state order. The Law on the State Enterprise says that the state order is an order from the state. It is transmitted "vertically"—from the Gosplan via the ministry to the enterprises. A number of scientists believe that state orders could be formulated more effectively "horizontally," that is, if one enterprise issued a state order to another.

A highly extreme opinion has been voiced in the press: that the provision on the state order should be reviewed in general, because it is not necessary as such.

All these diametrically opposed opinions indicate how tricky the question is. The discussion at the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium also confirmed this. Some directors (let us observe that they were the majority) argued heatedly for a state order to cover all output. Others objected equally heatedly, insisting that the state order should be strictly limited, that the collective should have the opportunity to display autonomy and initiative, and that the new economic mechanism is inconceivable without this.

The opinion was expressed that the state order should incorporate whatever is subject to shortages. But then, Yu.D. Maslyukov observed, we will basically be reverting to the old planning methods. It is another matter when it is a question of satisfying urgent social needs. For instance, for consumer goods the state order should account for 100 percent of the volume of output. Overall, however, the draft submitted for examination proposed reducing the proportion covered by the state order by one-half or two-thirds. This is particularly marked in the machine building complex. For instance, 35 percent of processing centers should be covered by the state order, while the remaining 65 percent will be sold through direct ties. Or take another example. Of 108 heavy machine building enterprises, 45 will have no state order for deliveries of output.

The number of indicators in the state order is reduced to one-sixth of its present level. Here it is important to stress that only the Gosplan can set state orders. The ministries do not have that right.

If you take the range of output produced, instead of 15,000 items specified, the state order for 1989 will include only 1,000, that is, one-fifteenth of the former number. At the same time individual enterprises could have a state order for all their output.

Certain enterprise leaders, ministry workers, and specialists believe that reducing the state order will lead to chaos and confusion. We cannot agree with that. Of course, we must be aware of the danger of an imbalance in the national economy. It is only necessary, for instance, to reduce the production of output by 10-15 percent in the "bottlenecks" for the echo to be heard in many components of the national economy. But, realizing this, we must work out options which will enable us to avoid serious mistakes and move forward, by means of expanding the enterprises' autonomy. That is, not by increasing the state order, but by considerably restricting it.

The interim regulations cover 2 years. That is the transitional period until the start of the 13th 5-Year Plan, when the new economic mechanism should come fully into play.

Of course, it is hard to provide for everything in interim regulations. Therefore, the following proposal was made: to establish a universal limit, for instance, that the state order should be set for an enterprise at a level no greater than 80 percent of output. But it was acknowledged that this should not be done, because this formal approach, failing to take account of enterprises' specific characteristics, would once again be a backward step.

Discussing the state order, the participants naturally could not disregard the practice of concluding economic contracts between enterprises.

"We advocate incorporating all our output in the state order," V.G. Ilyushenko, general director of the "Donetskugol" Association, said. "Why? Because otherwise we have no way of obtaining resources. Some enterprises are refusing to sign a contract with us, because they have already concluded all their contracts. In another place they suggested that we hand over R80,000 for their needs, and then they would talk about it, a third place demands stocks, a fourth—sanitary ware, which we are looking for ourselves. They say 15 percent of resources have been released for wholesale trade. We obtained a different figure—7.6 percent, we could find no more.... Then there are prices. Since 1981 equipment prices have increased 70 percent, yet nothing about the equipment has changed in terms of productivity, reliability, or other features...."

"We are building from our own resources," V.A. Rybynok, general director of the Lvov "Elektron" Production Association," went on, "in theory they should give us materials, but they don't...."

N.I. Ryzhkov:

"Those collectives that take on targets, albeit outside the state order, but in accordance with the control figures, should be provided with resources. It is another matter if a collective has set itself a lower plan, but wants more

resources. This year the machine builders found themselves in this position. People were trying to persuade them, citing arguments to show that they must reach the control figures, and they were saying firmly: No, we can't. Articles began to appear in the press.... I said then: 'Stop trying to persuade them. But in that case even centrally distributed material resources are allocated to them only according to the plan they have taken on....' Well, until we go over to broad wholesale trade, resources have to be distributed. According to a concrete plan."

The well-known construction worker N.I. Travkin, chief of Moscow Oblast Main Construction Administration No 2 State Production Association, lamented (unlike a number of enterprise directors) that the targets "from above" "give us no breathing space." Resources can be found, he said, plenty of construction materials are available, for instance, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, but our entire program is allocated. If they had only left us a little "play"....

N.I. Ryzhkov:

It was agreed that 10 percent of your volume will be left for direct contracts. Has that been done?

N.I. Travkin:

No, it was not done. The state contract for us should be no more than 75 percent of the total volume. There is no reason to fear that we will taken on an excessively low plan. That is not to our advantage. For one of our trusts we set a program amounting to 99 percent of what had already been achieved. So it is working for an extra 9 percent. If our hands were untied even a little, we could take up the slack like cooperative workers, and use everything that is not being used.

N.I. Ryzhkov addresses V.M. Serov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan:

"Valeriy Mikhaylovich, that is a criticism of you...."

V.M. Serov:

We are not the only ones issuing state orders....

N.I. Ryzhkov:

We should study carefully to see at precisely what level of management the enterprises' autonomy is stifled. They themselves, guided by the Law on the State Enterprise, should draft and approve plans. The state order should take into account the development of direct ties between the consumer and the producer. The conclusion of direct economic contracts between enterprises is strategically the correct path, and we have no right to turn aside from it.

Many questions connected in one way or another with the state order and the activity of enterprises were examined at the session.

The following example was cited. At the Voroshilovgrad October Revolution Diesel Locomotive Building Plant Association, the acceptance of output was formerly carried out by the clients—Ministry of Railways workers. There were 27 of them, and they knew very well what the railmen needed. Now there are nearly 150 people working on state acceptance. Is such an army necessary?

N.I. Ryzhkov:

We have already discussed state acceptance. Then, I told the ministry leaders: If you think state acceptance is unnecessary at certain enterprises, that these enterprises can guarantee quality, let us examine your proposals. I waited 3 weeks, but in that time not a single proposal came in....

Nikolay Ivanovich paused, but not a single proposal came from the auditorium. Clearly it is one thing to complain about state acceptance, and quite another to guarantee high quality.

An equally urgent matter was touched on by M.L. Raman, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, and A.A. Nikitin, general director of the Moscow "Zarya" Footwear Industry and Trade Association, in their speeches. The point was that the production of goods for children is not advantageous to the enterprise. It is well known that the lower level of retail prices for children's goods is supported by state subsidies, which total R3.8 billion, or some 30 percent of output at retail prices. The existing wholesale prices for children's goods on the whole ensure the profitability of their production, but profitability is lower than for similar articles for adults. Therefore, enterprises have no interest in increasing the production of goods for children.

In order to stimulate light industry, M.L. Raman proposed increasing the prices of children's goods, and giving families corresponding supplementary payments for each child.

N.I. Ryzhkov:

Will the people support that proposal? Will that solution meet with understanding among the population?

M.L. Raman:

We think so....

This is no simple question. Calculations show that under this option, additional payments for each child will be small. Clearly a more detailed study and discussion of this problem are needed.

But let us return to the state order. Today the ministry issues it to "its" plant. For instance, an order for diesel locomotives comes to the plant from the Ministry of Heavy Machine Building. But why not from the Ministry of Railways—the real client? Academician A.G. Aganbegyan spoke of this. Academician L.I. Abalkin raised important questions in his speech. Legal protection for the enterprise must be strengthened, he stressed. If, say, a ministry or the USSR Gosplan violates regulations, what can the enterprise do? Perhaps we should also think about granting local soviet organs the right to issue a state order up to 5 percent of the capacities of enterprises located on their territory.

Concluding the discussion, N.I. Ryzhkov said that the discussion was very useful. Different opinions were expressed, and that is quite natural. Comparing them will make it possible to draw up more accurate decisions. In the next 2 years we must all learn to work in a new way. We must not force the pace, but we must not slow things down either. These will be difficult years. But they are very necessary in order to prepare for the 13th 5-Year Plan and for radical changes in the economy.

## Agricultural

### Recurring Problems in Agriculture Viewed

OW2407134788 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0310 GMT on 22 July, in its scheduled "Restructuring Spotlight" program, deals with recurring problems in Soviet agriculture. The program is introduced by Leonid Khatayevich and begins with shots of silos in Krasnodar. The commentator says that only a few days ago these shots would have revealed long lines of heavily loaded trucks waiting to be processed. Now the place is relatively empty, not because of the improved efficiency of the workers, but rather because the flow of trucks delivering grain has slowed down due to rains.

The video then cuts to show harvesting combines left unattended in the middle of a field and tireless trucks propped up on bricks. The camera focuses on fields flattened by wind and rain and an unidentified person commenting that there is an urgent need to have suitable equipment which could salvage rain-damaged and waterlogged grain.

The video cuts to shots of Khatayevich in the studio interviewing G.A. Romanenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Agricultural Committee [Gosagroprom]. Khatayevich begins by saying that similar video clips could have been shown to the public a year ago, and that it seems that the inefficiency at grain storage centers continues, adding greatly to difficulties that cannot be avoided.

Romanenko agrees with the conclusion. Taking Krasnodar as an example, he says that there the management and workers of the silos have been provided with detailed plans and schedules, and even given access to computers. However, the personnel have yet to be properly trained and have not been reacting quickly to changing conditions such as changes in weather conditions.

Khatayevich says: "Gennadiy Alekseyevich, judging by the information that is coming in from such places as the Weather Bureau with regard to the weather, can the situation, as the country is entering the height of the harvesting period, be considered to be extreme?"

Romanenko responds: "Harvesting difficulties always existed and they continue to exist today. However, such excessive moistness as we now find in north Caucasus, south Ukraine, and even in the central regions, not to mention Belorussia, is uncommon. You yourself know how much rainfall and flooding occurred in Belorussia. Therefore, the concern expressed by the Soviet people is a justified one. There is a need to organize work in such a way so that the harvest—and we can say candidly that the harvest has been a good one—is saved."

Khatayevich says that besides the excessive rainfall there is the added problem of excessive heat in the eastern regions. He states: "As is known, the yearly loss factor is between 20 and 30 percent of the harvest. Would it be possible to cut down on the loss factor by reducing the loss due to climatic conditions?"

Romanenko responds: Only if the pace of harvesting is increased, the grain is dried more quickly, milling is improved, and the grain is placed under cover more quickly. He adds: Under no circumstances should the grain be left in the open.

The video then cuts to shots of the Saratov Oblast which is experiencing a heat wave. Video shows fodder fields with the narrator saying that normally the yield here is about 180 quintals; however, now no more than 40 quintals is expected. But the situation is not the same throughout the oblast. The closer to the Volga, the better the result. In some areas record harvests are expected. However, problems remain because only "about half of the trucks are working." Video shows grain stored in the open awaiting transportation. The narrator says that what is seen is nearly half of the planned target of grain awaiting delivery to government silos.

Khatayevich notes that harvesting is about to begin in the non-Chernozem region but that 20 percent of the harvesters in this region are not suitable for work. Moreover, 1,600 Don-1500 combines will remain idle throughout the season for want of reapers.

Romanenko, in reply, says that the Don combines are not only idle due to a shortage of reapers, but because "unfortunately, a significant number of them are not being used."

The program ends with Romanenko saying that the entire industry must undergo a change but adds that, at this moment, "there is no question that is more important than saving the harvest."

**Fuel Shortages Jeopardize Ukraine Harvests**
*PM2207103788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[V. Gavrichkin article under the rubric "Danger Signal": "Combines Without Fuel. Who Is Disrupting Deliveries and Why?"]

[Text] Our correspondent F. Chernetskiy has sent an alarming teletype message to the editorial office from Odessa Oblast. "At the very height of the harvest, when every day and hour is precious, fuel, particularly diesel fuel, is running out," he reports. "Also, there are virtually no supplies at the fuel depots."

A. Fomichev, chief of the material and technical supply department of Odessa Oblast's agro-industrial complex, explains the situation like this: "Our fuel usually was delivered to us by petroleum refineries in the Ukraine, and as a rule no particular complications arose. But for July the oblast registered with new suppliers—the Saratov, Armavir, and Volgograd territorial administrations for the supply of petroleum products. And troubles began immediately. Of the planned 22,000 tonnes for July nothing was been received from Armavir in the first 14 days, and Saratov sent only 2,700 tonnes out of 28,000 tonnes. Volgograd is dispatching fuel at the same rate. In light of the critical situation, the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers authorized the allocation of about 8,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. This is enough for 2-3 workdays. We are, as they say, kicking up a fuss, we are going directly to the suppliers, and to the higher authorities but, as you see, without result."

Similar alarms are coming from other oblasts in the Ukraine, from the Kuban, the Don, the Stavropol region.... What is going on? Maybe there is great overexpenditure of fuel because of the difficult harvest conditions, and the allocated stocks are simply inadequate?

"This is not quite so. A year ago, if you remember, the harvest was also extremely difficult, and there were also problems with the fuel. We managed to eliminate them as we went along. So our fuel stocks for the current year were approved on the basis of last year's actual expenditure. This amount should be quite sufficient for this year. Moreover, we are allocating gasoline, diesel fuel, and oil from fourth-quarter stocks to those who need it," A. Lyapchenkov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and chief of the USSR Agricultural Supply Administration [Agrosnab], explains.

The overall figures also testify to a state of well-being. For example, the USSR Gosagroprom planned to allocate to the Ukraine in the first half of the year 2,158,000 tonnes of gasoline but actually assigned 2,175,000 tonnes. More diesel fuel and oil was received by the republic than planned. So why the shortage in this case?

"Because of the shortfall in deliveries as a whole around the regions," A. Lyapchenkov explains.

The fact is that the territorial administrations of the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products are receiving fuel "for everyone." And if as a whole there was a shortfall in deliveries, and the Gosagroprom took its stocks, then this would mean that motorists could be without fuel. The transportation of grain will come to a standstill. In short, we would be robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Our correspondents in Bashkiria, Volgograd, and Kuybyshev studied the situation. It turned out that the administrations of the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products are acting quite responsibly as regards deliveries of fuel to the harvest regions. But something else became clear. "The Bashkir administration," IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Zinovyev reports from Ufa, "is delivering, aside from everything else, fuel for pipeline operations. But on a 'pooled' basis, without a specific address. It's all going into the same tank, as they say. In the first quarter the pipeline operators suffered a shortfall of 336,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, and in July—24,000 tonnes already. The reason is above-plan idle time of petroleum refinery installations."

"The hot weather is the reason for the shortfall in deliveries," explains V. Tarkhov, general director of the "Kuybyshevnefteorgsintez" Association, for example. "Condensation of the petroleum products is taking place very slowly." He adds optimistically: "We are eliminating the lag by commissioning at full capacity previously unserviceable installations."

Such promises, of course, give little joy to the grain growers. For example, through the fault of "Kuybyshevnefteorgsintez" Krasnodar Kray is missing 844 tonnes of gasoline. Since the beginning of the year Kuybyshev, Volgograd, Bashkiria, Groznyy, and other petroleum-refining enterprises have underproduced more than 1 million tonnes of petroleum products. The Ukraine alone failed to receive 280,000 tonnes from the RSFSR.

"I can't recall such a tight situation as regards resources of fuels and lubricants," V. Kostyunin, deputy chairman of the USSR Gossnab, said.

Naturally, measures are being taken. A few days ago a very complicated fuel situation developed in the Kuban and in Stavropol Kray. But today, as we are told, it has eased somewhat, the combines are not lying idle because the fuel tanks are empty. There are still difficulties with fuel delivery to the Don farmers, but here, too, the suppliers are finding the opportunity to provide prompt assistance. True, we should not forget about tomorrow: We shall harvest the grain, but a wealth of field work

remains—the harvesting of feed crops and grain corn, preparing the soil and sowing the winter crops.... So attention to the problem must not slacken before we are deep into the fall. At this point it should be said quite clearly that interruptions in fuel deliveries most often occur not through the fault of suppliers but because of petroleum refiners' sluggishness.

The refineries are working in fits and starts. For example, in the first 15 days of July consumers failed to receive 500,000 tonnes of diesel fuel and gasoline. Tanker cars stand idle on the sidings, fuel pipes are switched off—there is nothing to pump. The fuel is delivered eventually, but, as a rule, only at the end of the month for whatever reason.

This is where the buck stops: THE USSR MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM REFINING AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY ENTERPRISES AND N. LEMAYEV, MINISTER OF THE PETROLEUM REFINING AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY, BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STATE OF AFFAIRS CONCERNING PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TODAY. [capitalization in preceding sentence as published]

Of course, the petroleum refiners have many explanations and excuses. But if because of a shortage of fuel combines and vehicles stand idle in the fields and crops which have already grown cannot be harvested—then there can be no excuse for this. There is no alternative. We leave the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry the right to draw its own conclusion.

### State Committee Data Released on Food Industry

*LD2407152388 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The enterprises of the food industry of the agro-industrial complex have reached the targets for the production of the most important kinds of products set for the first six months of 1988, says a report of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, published today.

The report, specifically, says that the purchases of hothouse vegetables and early-maturing field vegetables have increased. Altogether 1.5 million tons of vegetables was purchased by June 27, 1988, an increase of 70 thousand tons on the same date of 1987.

The country's industrial centres have been supplied in the first six months of 1988 with 564 thousand tons of early-maturing vegetables and 7.4 thousand tons of stone fruit and berries. The target for the first six months for the supply of vegetables to the all-union stocks was fulfilled to 95 percent by June 27, and that for the supply of stone fruit and berries to 41 percent. Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia (the Soviet Transcaucasian republics), the Russian Federation, Turkmenia, a Soviet republic in Central Asia, failed to fulfil the assignment for vegetable supply.

The output and purchases of animal production have increased. Collective and state farms and intra-economic enterprises in the first six months of the year produced 10.6 million tons of meat (live weight), an increase of 4 percent on the same period last year. The yield of milk amounted to 43.6 million tons (an increase of five percent). The output of eggs made up 31.6 billion pieces, an increase of five percent.

The average yield of milk per cow increased in all the union republics, except Armenia.

Major structural transformations aimed at the development of fundamentally new forms of agriculture are now made in the agro-industrial complex, says the report of the USSR State Committee for Statistics. 187 agro-industrial complexes and amalgamations, 62 agricultural firms, implementing close interaction of production processing and marketing of farm produce operate now.

As many as 15,000 collective and state farms used team contract by the beginning of June. The team contract has become most widespread in the Russian Federation, in the Ukraine and in Kazakhstan.

### Agricultural Developments for 21-23 Jul

LD2307232388 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 21-23 July. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

21 July:

Farmers in the Ukraine have already delivered over 2 million tonnes of primarily precious and strong grain. The acceptance of winter wheat of increased dampness has been permitted in connection with the frequent rains. (1500)

In Kuban, 1 million tonnes of wheat have been harvested. Most of it is high grade strong and valuable grain. In all, Kuban will sell at least 4 million tonnes of cereals, corn, and rice this year. (1800)

22 July:

A major works for repairing cotton harvesting machinery has been built in the Karshi steppe, Uzbekistan. Its first phase is being prepared for commissioning. The new enterprise is designed to repair 1,000 grain harvesters per year. (0000)

Large-scale harvesting of winter wheat and rye began today in Omsk Oblast. The share of winter crops in the oblast's sowing rotation has increased almost fivefold over the last 5 years from 38,000 hectares to 200,000 hectares. In the next few years, 15 percent of the total grain-producing area is intended to be devoted to winter crops. (1000)

Despite the bad weather, Lipetsk Oblast grain growers today delivered the first 100,000 tonnes of grain to grain reception centers. One of the features of this harvesting campaign in the oblast is the growing share of grain with high baking properties. (1100)

Maritime Kray's grain growers today started harvesting early grain crops. Spring crops are to be cut on 1,500 hectares in the kray. (1100)

Grain harvesting was completed today in the Leninskoye, Aravan, and Bazar-Kurgan Rayons of southern Kirghizia. Farms in the Stavropol area today started to thresh grain from the second and final million hectares of the sown areas. The harvesting of early grain crops started today in the Maritime Kray. Spring wheat there occupies 1,500 hectares. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT)

23 July:

Stavropol Kray farms have now sold to the state more than 3 million tonnes of bread-grain. Selective harvesting of grain crops began today in all the oblasts of Belorussia. (0800)

Our economic review today is about the progress of harvest work. The press has already published the latest Goskomstat report on the harvesting. At the end of the first 20 days of July, throughout the country grain crops excluding corn had been reaped on 14.9 million hectares and threshed on 9.8 million hectares. The pace of fodder preparation is slower than last year, especially in Kazakhstan, Armenia, the Bashkir Republic, and Penza and Saratov Oblasts. (0800)

## Scientific

### Sagdeyev Says Sakharov Awards Must Be Returned

*LD2207135688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 29, 17 Jul 88 pp 8-9*

[Academician Roald Sagdeyev article: "Stars Not Just in the Sky... Let's Give Academician Sakharov Back His Awards"]

[Text] Last October, a space forum was convened in Moscow to mark the 30th anniversary of the launching of the first artificial earth satellite. And the most outstanding world specialists in space science and technology came to attend. Academicians Yakov Zeldovich and Andrey Sakharov, surrounded by young scientists, took part in the sectional meeting on space astronomy.

"This morning you were sitting on the presidium of the plenary meeting with three gold stars on your jacket," a foreign journalists said to Academician Yakov Zeldovich. "Why aren't you wearing them now?"

"Because Sakharov, who used to have the same stars, is here, and he's a man just as worthy of wearing them as I. But now let's talk about science."

We'll go back to one of the autumn days of 1975. The midnight oil was burning in the offices of Vice-Presidents of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. Fedoseyev and V. Kotelnikov. Well-known scientists and academicians were summoned one by one, to persuade them of the need to condemn and brand their colleague—Academician Andrey Sakharov (then thrice Hero of Socialist Labour, and winner of the Lenin and State prizes), who had just been awarded the Nobel Prize. The harvest of signatures on a collective letter to a central newspaper (a method characteristic of the time) yielded nearly 100 per cent. Yes, it was hard to stand one's ground. ("There was no alternative".) Now it's easier to assess the magnitude of the changes in our lives, if only because stormy meetings on making perestroyka a permanent thing in our country are going on in the same offices, and being chaired by the same vice-presidents.

Full of the noble pathos of renewal, we are boldly crushing everything that in the sad time of stagnation go in our way, and we're not keeping quiet about its direct culprits. Only the mute reproach—"And where were we at the time?"—stil bothers many of us. All the greater is our respect and gratitude for those who weren't silent then, whose courageous civic position wasn't sacrificed to a career, comfort of a fleeting well-being.

When Academician Igor Kurchatov was faced with the dire necessity of solving the nuclear problem in the strategic interests of national security, the country's best scientists, our best theoretical and experimental physicists, gathered around him. Among them were people who already enjoyed world fame, and those whose names were known only to a narrow circle. It is no exaggeration to say that at the time, the contribution made by Andrey Sakharov was the biggest of all. He managed to combine brilliant intuition and the ability for rapid evaluation of a physicist-theoretician with the genius of an inventor.

Without what was done by Kurchatov and Sakharov and later on by Sergey Korolev and his comrades-in-arms, our country could not have achieved nuclear parity or really have begun working for lowering the threshold of nuclear confrontation, something which is so important now.

Andrey Sakharov's talent was also fully revealed in another wonderful work (which he did with Academician Igor Tamm) on a very peaceful subject. At the beginning of the 50's, they offered the concept of the magnetic storage of plasma as a way to controlled thermonuclear synthesis. The modern Tokamaks—the

installations for obtaining hot plasma which have spread all over the world—are direct descendants of Sakharov-Tamm's torus. And the technology of obtaining record magnetic fields (so-called magnetic accumulation) was introduced by Sakharov at approximately the same time.

But the sharp feeling of social responsibility was always innate in A. Sakharov, and probably to a greater extent than in many of his colleagues. He couldn't keep silent or hide his deep alarm for the fate of a world faced with the threat of nuclear apocalypse. He approached Khrushchev. But, alas, at the time we were too far from Mikhail Gorbachev's idea of the direct utilization of the intellectual capacity of world science as one of the most important elements of new thinking in the nuclear age. Sakharov came out with a humanistic appeal for peace, which met with a wide response at the end of the 60's not only among scientists (it is a great pity that the Soviet reader has not yet had the opportunity to see it published).

He never stopped his active research work for a single moment. At the end of the 60's and beginning of the 70's, Sakharov turned to one of the deeper problems of contemporary natural science—the gravitation theory and the origin of the universe (which, alas, began with the Big Bang 15 billion years ago). Sakharov expressed a number of fine ideas about the processes during the initial period of its evolution, when substance was something like a nuclear mess in an extreme state, and even about the time just before the Big Bang and about the plurality of worlds, universes. Physicists know how bold one must be to deal with such deep, I'd even say, virtually "closed zones," in the contemporary models of the universe.

But isn't every human being on Earth a universe unto him or herself, full of feelings, concerns and alarms? And is it possible to speak about the establishment if not of harmony then at least of relative order, in a stormy nuclear age without social justice for all? I think that precisely these thoughts, together with his deep humanistic view of the world in the nuclear age, have put Sakharov in the ranks of fighters for human rights. And he didn't bow his head, and stood his ground against the forces that brought physical and moral pressure to bear, against threatening letters and other "trifling harms." But, then, it was Andrey Sakharov's spirit and nobleness that made them trifling.

Sakharov's return to Moscow after seven long years of exile was regarded as a victory of new thinking not only in our country, but all over the world. He works together with us, giving reports at research seminars, writing about perestroyka in periodicals, and is active in the work of the International Forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity." Recently he became head of the scientific council on problems of cosmology at the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The academician may have been returned to the Academy, but he has yet to be returned his awards. For his achievements in dealing with applied problems, Sakharov was thrice given the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. In 1980, he was deprived of all awards by a decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet—"in connection with Sakharov's systematic acts that defile him as an awarded person..." At the same time, he was deprived of the State and Lenin Prizes. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the time was headed by a man whose jacket was decorated with five stars.

But let's get back to perestroyka. For the sake of its irreversibility, for the sake of our moral self-purification these stars must again shine on Academician Andrey Sakharov's breast.

### Space Cooperation Talks Held With Austria

*LD2207163288 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Text] Vienna July 22 TASS—Questions of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Austria in space exploration were discussed at the talks that ended here at the international centre of the congresses—the Hofburg Palace. Representatives of Glavkosmos of the USSR (the Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research) and the Austrian delegation consisting of officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Science, took part in the talks. Concrete questions connected with a space flight of an Austrian citizen as cosmonaut-researcher, and with the making during the flight of experiments in the area of technology, medicine and physics, were discussed. The proposal for a joint Soviet-Austrian space flight was made by chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov during his official visit to Austria in July 1987. In April 1988 the Austrian Government made an official decision on the participation of an Austrian cosmonaut in one of the flights.

The signing of the joint protocol on making such a flight on the Soviet orbital station "Mir" took place today. The protocol, specifically, reflects the arrangement about an approximate timeframe—the end of 1991—the beginning of 1992. The precise schedule of the flight will be determined later.

Addressing the participants in the talks the head of the Austrian delegation Gerhard Wagner noted that a considerable step forward has been made. He emphasized not only scientific but also great political importance of the coming joint space flight. The talks have set another example of good relations between the two countries, of their constantly growing fruitful cooperation, Wagner said.

### 'Mir' Cosmonauts on New Cargo Received

*LD2307083988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jul 88*

[Excerpts] Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov today began the 8th month of their stay in space. Our

correspondent was given an opportunity to chat with them during a regular communications session. Here is a recording of what they said:

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent] Tell us, please, what was there of particular interest on board the cargo craft?

[Unidentified cosmonaut] There was a lot of interesting stuff; new equipment is arriving. We're digging it out with great interest.

[Correspondent] What equipment is there that's new?

[Unidentified cosmonaut] As yet, in the main, we've only dug out the mail. As for the equipment, we've checked it out, we've looked at it, we've walked around it, but the work has been planned, and we have not, therefore, begun unloading it.

[Correspondent] But you've checked it out—so what's new there? Tell us specifically if you can.

[Unidentified cosmonaut] A new on-board computer complex has arrived which will enable us to solve other new tasks on our own, including a whole computer complex and a color monitor.

[Second unidentified cosmonaut] We have received a spacesuit to replace what we have. We have already mentioned the fact that cosmonauts are troubled by the fact that when they go out, they have to pull behind them the cord that links the electrical circuits of the spacesuit with the station. The new spacesuit will make it possible to do without that cord, although it is designed for use in two different modes, so to speak, both independently and in conjunction with a connection using a cord. New apparatus for the Soviet-French flight has started to arrive. The first swallows, so to speak, have arrived with this cargo craft, the first units of that apparatus.

[First unidentified cosmonaut] New medical equipment has arrived which will make it possible to carry out some research work. [end recording]

### Take Rest Day

*LD2507070288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 24 Jul 88*

[Text] Sunday was a rest day for Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov who are carrying out an orbital flight in the Mir scientific complex. They did exercises in the station's ministadium which are essential for keeping in good shape during a prolonged flight. The 8th month of their expedition has begun.